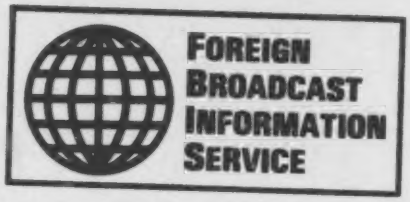

Daily Report

East Europe

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Tanchev Receives U.S. Democratic Party Figure

AU2505173388 Sofia BTA in English
1650 GMT 25 May 88

["For Development of the Contacts Between Bulgaria and the United States"— BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received the outstanding figure of the Democratic Party of the United States Ms Polly Baca, [name as received] deputy president of the National Committee of the party, who is visiting this country at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The two sides discussed the opportunities for the further development of the contacts between the two parties, which can contribute to the broadening of the relations between Bulgaria and the United States in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

The secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) pointed out that the restructuring and the activity for further development of techno-scientific advance in Bulgaria open even greater opportunities for participation of this country in the international division of labour and for her economic cooperation with other states, the United States included. He stressed the contribution of Bulgaria's consistent peace-loving policy and of State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov to peace and good-neighbour relations in the Balkans, to the efforts for the turning of that region into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, to disarmament, understanding and security in Europe and in the world.

The guest expressed interest in the innovation of the social life in this country and assessed highly Bulgaria's participation in the all-Balkan and all-European processes.

Special attention was paid to the new situation created as a result of the advance of the Soviet-American dialogue and of the INF Treaty. It was stressed in the talk that this historical breakthrough toward real disarmament is an important success of reason and realism and opens possibilities for further steps for curbing of nuclear arsenals in interest of peace and the whole mankind. It was pointed out that the peoples are expecting the fourth meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow as an event of great importance, which could give a strong impetus to the positive tendencies for improvement of the political climate.

Dimitrova Views Purity of Bulgarian Language

AU2505125688 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 19 May 88 pp 1,2

[Blaga Dimitrova article: "Language—An Alarm Signal"]

[Excerpts] Language contains the intellectual dimensions of time and space. This applies to all people.

For 13 centuries our people have preserved their language, guarding it as a precious fire against the storms and devastations. Our language is our vital force which strengthens not only us but also all Slavs, our inner world, and our bridge toward the past and future alike. [passage omitted]

Why did we allow in recent decades the alarming impoverishment of this "sweet, melodious, and bright" Bulgarian language? Couldn't we see that thus we ourselves became poorer? How many lofty words did we lose in the hasty chase after fleeting factors? Together with the words we also lost some of our intellectual light. The first such words that come to my mind are charity [milosurdie], perseverance [spodvizhnichestvo], forgiveness [oproshtenie], humility [smirenie], diffidence [svyan], reward [vuzdayanie], and so forth. Instead, we acquired a myriad of lifeless cliches such as correlation, [korelatsiya], infrastructure, recapitulation, and other foreign words full of self-importance. We even created our own similar words, preconstruction [prekonstrukturirane] being one of them. This is the language of the bureaucratic delirium. [passage omitted]

We must openly admit that our language, the heir of the sublime language-herald of truth and justice, has been corrupted. Things are often being called by false names. The language increasingly means something which does not exist or something which has its origin in propaganda: "Never ceasing upsurge," "ever greater successes," and "another step forward," (with those daily "steps forward" we were supposed to have already reached by the 21st century). Thus a strange mutation is taking place in front of our eyes: Our language is becoming an antilanguage. [passage omitted]

We are witnessing today the inertial division between words and deeds, phrases and facts, speeches and order. This still insurmountable linguistic pathology is a mental shock to the most sensitive ones—the youth. Let us not be cross with them, no matter how much it hurts. Their compensatory defense against the aggression of the false language is their cynicism, the rudeness of their speech, and their refusal to accept the advice of their parents and teachers. How is responsible? My language, my enemy.... [passage omitted]

Government Adopts Measures on Harvesting

AU2405133288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 May 88 p 1

[BTA report: "At the Council of Ministers: The Timely Harvesting and Use of the Crops Requires Strict Organization"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has discussed the issue of timely harvesting and fully using the agricultural produce without any loss. A good yield is expected. This

requires that we create the necessary labor organization and mobilize the capacities of the agro-industrial complexes, the brigades, the municipalities, and the entire population for the harvest.

In this context, the government has adopted a decision. The "National Agro-Industrial Union" Association and the executive committees of the oblast people's councils have been instructed to fully cooperate and specifically help the agricultural brigades, agro-industrial complexes, and other agricultural organizations in everything related to the protecting, timely harvesting, and use of the crops.

To ensure the necessary additional manpower, in addition to the enterprises, departments, schools, and higher educational establishments, the agricultural organizations must conclude contracts with workers and employees—tractor and equipment operators, drivers, and irrigation workers for participation in the agricultural work for a period of up to 90 days. The agricultural organizations and technological motor transportation combines can also conclude such contracts with pensioners.

The agricultural organizations and other branches of the national economy must urgently supply the agricultural brigades and the agro-industrial complexes with the raw materials, materials, fuels, and other resources which are necessary for maintaining the equipment and harvesting the crops. At the request of the agricultural brigades, the transportation organizations are to ensure the transportation of the grain and other agricultural produce, and create a labor organization which would be in line with technology in agriculture.

The "Grain and Fodder Industry" Agricultural Trust must organize the around-the-clock work of the centers for purchasing the grain.

The organs of the fire brigade, the leaderships of the brigades and the agro-industrial complexes, and the executive committees of the people's councils have been instructed to adopt urgent measures on ensuring fire safety and protecting the agricultural produce and equipment.

The government asked the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee to facilitate the mass participation of the workers, employees, students, and the entire population in harvesting the crops according to schedule and without any loss.

The Committee on State and People's Control must organize systematic inspections of the implementation of the tasks and of the readiness of the agricultural brigades and servicing, purchasing, and processing enterprises to harvest and use the crops.

Greek President Sartzetakis Pays Visit

Welcomed by Husak

LD2505171788 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Khristos Sartzetakis, president of Greece, arrived in Prague today for an official visit. The Greek guest was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport, which was decorated with the national flags of both countries, by Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, and Lubomir Strougal, premier of the federal government. After the national anthems of both countries, the Greek president received a report from the commander of the guard of honor, and together with Gustav Husak, he inspected them. After the welcoming ceremony, Gustav Husak and Khristos Sartzetakis got into cars and made their way to Prague Castle through the decorated streets of our capital, where they met in the green salon.

Holds Talks With Husak

LD2605000988 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Prague May 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis appreciated the present level of Czechoslovak-Greek cooperation, which is a positive contribution to the process of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, during their talks here today.

They noted at the same time that the possibilities of the extension of relations between the two countries are far from exhausted, and voiced the belief that the Greek president's visit will give new stimuli to intensification of bilateral contacts in all spheres.

When discussing the present international situation, the Greek president emphasized Greece's interest in promoting relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries regardless of their political system chosen by their people.

He also pointed out the initiative of the states belonging to the New Delhi "Six" and underlined his country's activity within this peace group aimed at elimination of nuclear weapons.

Gustav Husak appreciated Greece's approach to and stands on the solution of the most urgent issues of the present and particularly the country's activity in the framework of the New Delhi "Six" which meets with deep sympathies in Czechoslovakia. As for East-West relations, Gustav Husak emphasized the need for good neighbourly relations and cooperation, the necessity of agreement based on a compromise. In this context he spoke highly of the current dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, and voiced the conviction that the forthcoming Moscow summit will be another step on the road towards disarmament, particularly nuclear, but also towards strengthening confidence and understanding.

The Greek president invited Gustav Husak to visit Greece and his invitation was accepted.

Present at the talks were Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and other officials.

Husak Hosts Dinner

LD2605001488 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Prague May 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak said today his talks with his Greek colleague Khristos Sartzetakis earlier in the day confirmed the identity or closeness of the two countries' views on major problems of the present time.

They also confirmed the two countries' resolve to help strengthen the positive trends which begin to gain ground in international politics, Gustav Husak said at a dinner he was giving for the visiting Greek president.

Czechoslovakia and Greece are linked by common interest in ensuring world peace and international security, strengthening the tendencies of reducing confrontation and creating necessary confidence, Gustav Husak said.

Present at the dinner were Communist Party Presidium members—Premier Lubomir Strougal and party Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak and other officials.

The Czechoslovak president appreciated the realistic approach of the Greek Government to disarmament, its decision to remove nuclear weapons from its territory, rejection of space militarization and of plans to modernize the NATO nuclear and conventional arsenals.

We appreciate Greece's important activity in the "Six" group, Gustav Husak added.

He welcomed all initiatives helping to strengthen favourable international tendencies and attached special importance to the reduction of armed forces and conventional armament on the European continent. "Talks on this subject should begin before the end of this year," he said.

The Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO also seeks to contribute to the development of cooperation in Europe. "We are convinced that relations between states which are members of different military-political groupings should be based on mutual confidence. In our opinion prejudice and mutual suspicion, which were prominent in the past, can be overcome by various contacts, agreements and actions in the non-military sphere."

He noted that Czechoslovak-Greek cooperation is good especially in the political field. Today's talks confirmed that no small possibilities exist in economic cooperation and there are also preconditions for expansion of cultural contacts.

"We are sincerely interested in promoting and developing the good results of cooperation on the basis of mutual confidence, respect, equality and understanding," Gustav Husak stated.

He said that expenditures extravagantly spent on gaining new or improving existing means of destruction must be devoted to more humane tasks such as promotion of economic, social and cultural progress, especially in backward countries and generally all over the world.

He was gratified that the two countries are inspired by peace-loving efforts which are identical or very close. Bilateral relations have been developing especially in recent years and there are still great possibilities to expand these friendly contacts.

Speaks at Dinner

LD2605002088 Prague CTK in English
2124 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Prague May 25 (CTK)—Greece, an exclusively peace-loving country from time immemorial, founds its foreign policy on mutual respect between states, independent of the socio-economic systems, President Khristos Sartzetakis said at the dinner in his honour today.

The president mentioned the contribution of Greece to the effort for cooperation in the Balkans and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the area.

Speaking about relations with Turkey he said that Greece's effort to reduce mutual tension has been well-known. This effort documents Greece's resolve to avert the possibility of a confrontation which would have uncontrollable consequences, he said and stressed the country's permanent interest in the peaceful solution of all disputes.

Commenting on the Cyprus issue, he noted that the solution of this protracted problem can be ensured solely by the observance of United Nations resolutions, withdrawal of foreign occupation forces from Cyprus as well as of foreign immigrants who now number almost 65,000. It is necessary to restore the basic rights of movement, stay and employment anywhere in Cyprus for all Cypriots. International guarantees and demilitarization can remove distrust and fears of anybody and ensure the existence of an integral, independent and peaceful Cyprus.

President Sartzetakis voiced support for the just demand of the Palestinian people to create an independent Palestinian state, with the right of all countries in the region to peaceful coexistence and mutually secure and internationally recognized borders ensured.

In the question of Lebanon, we see the only solution in the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the restoration of this country's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, the president said. He called for an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq conflict and the start of peace talks.

Summary of 25 May Events

NC2505194388 Athens Domestic Service in Greek
1830 GMT 25 May 88

[Report by Evangelos Papadhopoulos, Hellenic radio correspondent in Prague, on Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis visit on 25 May—recorded]

[Text] The development of relations between Greece and Czechoslovakia has been impressive in recent years while there are margins for expanding and extending them even more. This was stressed by President of the Republic Khristos Sartzetakis in his reply to the toast of Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak at the official dinner that was given this evening at 2000. The development of these relations, Sartzetakis continued, is expressed through a number of cooperation agreements in the fields of health, tourism, road transport, and primarily through the long-term program for the economic, industrial, and technical cooperation that was agreed upon in 1984 during Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's visit.

In his toast, Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak stressed that today's consultations confirm the identity of the two countries' positions toward the burning issues of the era and the determination to deepen and improve the positive tendencies that have begun to appear in the arena of international politics. We are united, Husak said, by a common interest to maintain international peace and world security, to strengthen the tendency to reduce tension and to create the necessary trust. More specifically, he stressed Greece's activities in the initiative of the Six. We attach great and special attention, Husak said, to the improvement and development of relations and cooperation in Europe.

The president of the Republic began his official visit to Czechoslovakia at noon today when he arrived at the airport at 1230. He was officially welcomed by Czechoslovak President Husak, Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal, and other officials. The president of the Republic and Husak had their first talk at 1315, which continued later in the evening. At 1345, Sartzetakis attended an unofficial luncheon. He laid a wreath at the city's memorial of the heroes at 1500, and received the diplomatic corp at 1800.

In a talk with the journalists who are accompanying him, the president of the Republic denied that Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz had handed him an invitation from Turkish President Kenan Evren to pay an official visit to Ankara.

Further Reportage on MSZMP Conference

AU2505125788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 88 p 7

[Commentary by Zdenek Vavra and Gejza Vilcek: "The Hungarian Laboratory"]

[Text] "Every socialist country is essentially some kind of a social laboratory, in which various forms and methods of creative socialist activity are examined," Mikhail Gorbachev wrote in his book "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World." In the "social laboratory" of the Hungarian People's Republic, a new mechanism for the operation of the economy was created 20 years ago, the social base of which was provided by national unity built by the MSZMP. The party won people's trust by coming to terms with the catastrophic situation in the wake of the 1956 counterrevolution and by guiding, for decades, the country's development in a new spirit. Above all, it applied the ideas of Marxism-Leninism devoid of the sediment of deformations. This development is linked with the personality of Comrade Janos Kadar. The promising development of the reform was rooted precisely in the political capital which the party accumulated in that period.

After 20 years of development, however, the reform did not receive any fresh boosts from the social and ideological spheres. A certain feeling of satisfaction with the favorable development until then began to prevail in the party and society. An increasing number of administrative features were permeating management. A certain role was played also by the international political and economic environment, in which the Hungarian reform remained more or less solitary.

One of the delegates at the national conference said: "In the first half of the seventies, the building stones of confidence became worn out." As time went on, the ideopolitical charge of the reform petered out and it was becoming increasingly evident that without a reform of the political system, without establishing conditions for a new national unity on the basis of newly formulated targets, the economic reform cannot be brought to a successful end.

The discussion and the main document of the MSZMP national conference reveal that the party of Hungarian communists has made an unequivocal decision—that it is essential, with a view to regaining the dynamism of development and tapping the potentials and hidden reserves of socialism, to deepen the mechanism of the political system, expand the scope for the development of socialist democracy, and increase the party's ability to take action.

The national conference adopted a document that provides communists with a clear standpoint with regard to the invigoration of their activity in the new spirit and the creation of cadre prerequisites for reembarking on the path which experienced such a promising development in the late sixties. It is not by accident that the idea of a policy of alliance, which had so successfully rallied the people around the MSZMP in the post-1956 period of consolidation, has resurfaced at the conference, and in its document. Today, this idea is supplemented with the creation of conditions for socialist pluralism, which, as Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, said at the conference, is an instrument of people's power in a one party system and means the integration of the political interests of society.

The significance of the national conference lies in the supplementing of economic efforts with political unity and, by that token, in the creation of conditions for a more vigorous advancement. The creation of cadre prerequisites is also subordinated to this. A full one-third of the 108 members of the newly elected Central Committee of the party are new. The new Politburo, the composition of which has changed more than 60 percent, features also names that are known from the first period of the reform's upsurge, such as that of Rezso Nyers, sometimes called the "father of reform." However, attention is focused, in particular, on the election of Karoly Grosz [as general secretary], who in the function of the premier managed, with his ambitious and everything but popular program of stabilization, to win strong parliamentary support. The conference instituted also a new function—that of party chairman. This decision is undoubtedly linked with the personality of Comrade Janos Kadar, who has been at the head of the MSZMP since 1956. Recently he celebrated his 75th birthday; nonetheless, his election as party chairman suggests that he continues to participate in Hungarian political life.

The conference, the results of which will have to pass the definitive test of time, was undeniably an important event in the life of the Hungarian people. Its importance lies, above all, in the pointing out of new solutions, in its effort to create new conditions for union between the party and the people, for a new style of party work, and for the development of socialist democracy.

Jakes Greets MSZMP's Grosz, Kadar on Election

AU2505125888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 88 p 1

["(Z)"-signed report: "Congratulations to Budapest"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, sent a message of congratulations to Karoly Grosz on the latter's election to the office of MSZMP general secretary, in which he stated:

Esteemed comrade, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and all Czechoslovak Communists, as well as on my own behalf, I cordially congratulate you on your election to the office of MSZMP general secretary. Your responsible work in the MSZMP for many years, and also your personal contribution to the development of comprehensive collaboration between our parties and states, are fully appreciated in Czechoslovakia.

The CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people note with the feelings of great sympathy the efforts undertaken by Hungarian communists to resolve the complicated issues of socialist construction and to achieve further progress in consolidating and developing your country. We sincerely wish you, your entire country, and all its people much success in the implementation of conclusions adopted by the statewide party conference. We express the conviction that the fraternal ties and all-round cooperation between the CPCZ and MSZMP, and between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, will continue to intensify for the sake of consolidating the cohesion of the entire socialist community and in the interests of our common fight for peace, socialism, and progress in the world.

I wish you great creative energy and many successes in your responsible work for the MSZMP—for socialism, friendship, and peace.

Comrade Milos Jakes also sent a message of congratulations to Janos Kadar on the latter's election to the office of MSZMP chairman, in which he stated:

Esteemed comrade, accept the CPCZ and also my own cordial comradely congratulations on your election to the office of MSZMP chairman.

We hold in deep respect your contribution to the victory of the workers class in your country and to the advancement of socialist Hungary. We highly appreciate your role in intensifying the close ties of alliance between the socialist countries, and in consolidating friendship and cooperation between our fraternal parties and states. We express the firm conviction that these relations will continue to strengthen for the benefit of the cause of socialism and peace.

I wish you firm health and many successes in your responsible work for the benefit of the Hungarian people, in the interests of our common fight for peace, socialism, and social progress in the world.

Bulgarian Parliamentarians Visit Slusovice
AU2605080288 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 88 p 1

[CTK report: "On the Stay of Bulgarian Deputies in Our Country; Among Machine Builders in Gottwaldov"]

[Excerpts] Gottwaldov—A delegation of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB] headed by Stanko Todorov, its chairman and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, paid a visit to the working people of the Gottwaldov district yesterday [17 May].

The Bulgarian deputies were welcomed by workers and technicians of the Precision Engineering Enterprise [ZPS] in Gottwaldov. Director Miloslav Novotny explained to them the production of machine tools, which constitute about 40 percent of the enterprise's production. The ZPS exports many of these machine tools to Bulgaria—this year for about Kcs15 million. [passage omitted]

The delegation visited the Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative in Slusovice in the afternoon. Chairman Frantisek Cuba explained to the members of the delegation the reason for the cooperative's success, which is, above all, in a rapid application of the latest findings of science and technology. These have made it possible since 1949, when the cooperative was founded, to increase the per-hectare grain yield from 1 to more than 6 metric tons, and the annual milk yield from 1,600 to 6,000 liters per milk cow. The total production, which reached Kcs4,2 billion last year, is expected to increase to Kcs10 billion by 1990. The Slusovice team concentrates on preferential development of 8 important programs: beef cattle raising, corn growing, production of agricultural machinery which is in short supply, microelectronics, agricultural chemicals, biochemistry, processing of agricultural produce, and construction. For example, at present the processing of agricultural produce is changing over to creating a modern system of nutrition. The Slusovice team wants to produce specific substances which are lacking in the run-of-the-mill foodstuffs, enrich them with these substances, and then sell those products in their own outlets. The visit gave the Bulgarian deputies a fair idea about most of the aforementioned pivotal programs.

At the end, a discussion provided scope for many questions on the part of the deputies of the Bulgarian Parliament, who did not spare words of praise and recognition to the Slusovice farmers. The delegation was accompanied by Vladimir Vedra, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and Toncho Chakurov, PRB ambassador to the CSSR.

Jakes Greets Gorbachev, Jaruzelski
AU2605115188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Telegrams From Aboard the Plane"]

[Text] Moscow—When flying over USSR territory, Comrade Milos Jakes sent from aboard the plane a greetings telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Warsaw—When flying over the territory of the PPR, Comrade Milos Jakes sent a greetings telegram from aboard the plane to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the PPR.

Border Cooperation With Austria, Hungary Viewed
AU2505143888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 88 p 7

["(VPL)"-signed report: "The Heart of Europe Should Not Stand Aside; Symposium on Cooperation Between Austria, CSSR, and Hungary"]

[Text] An international symposium on regional cooperation between Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary was held in the Austrian border town of Gmuend on Monday [16 May]. The meeting was organized by the provincial organization of the social-democratic Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe) in Lower Austria; it considered specific steps which could lead to a revitalization of relations between the border regions and simultaneously contribute toward intensifying the dialogue between the three countries.

Peter Jankowitsch, who is foreign-political spokesman for the SPOe, noted in his statement that the border regions in particular should not stand aside in the development of new forms of East-West cooperation and collaboration. He stressed that Austria's regional policy should strive far more energetically to attain cooperation with the CSSR and Hungarian border regions, pointing out the well-functioning partnership of border relations between Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy as a specific example of such cooperation.

Ernst Hoeger, deputy chairman of the Lower Austrian provincial administration, stated that the eastern regions of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary [as published] now have an opportunity "to create a completely new situation in the heart of Europe, by improving their interpersonal, economic, and cultural contacts (while bearing in mind their social conditions)." He specified that, in particular, such spheres as cooperation in improving the purity of air and water, resolving the waste problem, and collaboration in medical care need to be expanded. Alleviations in crossing the border from one country to another could revive tourism, and "the unsatisfactory [nevyhovujici] borderland contacts with Czechoslovakia could be improved by opening further border crossings; numerous Austrian communities have already expressed interest in this cooperation," he added. In Austria the development of tourism is generally regarded as one of the ways to improve the situation in stagnating borderland areas (for instance, the unemployment figures around Gmuend are about double the Austrian average).

On the occasion of the symposium, the South Bohemian Museum is showing its collections abroad for the first time. Within the framework of the agreement between the federal province of Upper Austria and the South Bohemian Region, as of this Friday [20 May] this exhibition will be part of the provincial exhibition entitled "South Bohemia in the Change of the Times."

Bangladesh Foreign Minister Departs
LD2605113188 Prague CTK in English 1101 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Prague May 26 (CTK)—Bangladeshi Foreign Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury ended today an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

He arrived in this country at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Plans for Satellite TV Reception
LD2605093888 Prague CTK in English 0820 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Prague May 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak television plans to receive television programs through satellite transmission from the 1990's within the framework of an agreement with the International Telecommunications Union.

Czechoslovakia has been taking part in the research and development of the basic principles of satellite transmission systems within the comprehensive program of scientific and technological progress of the CMEA member states till the year 2000. The majority of the equipment for the geostationary satellite is supplied by the USSR while Czechoslovakia participates in producing experimental equipment. For instance it has been developing different types of ground-based receiving stations for satellite transmissions in Czechoslovakia.

At the beginning of the 1990's eight to ten ground-based transmitters are to be built to relay satellite transmissions in the classical way. Further development of satellite tranmissions is expected around the year 2000. At present Czechoslovak television broadcasts on two channels, the first being received on 95 per cent of the country's territory with 98 per cent of the population, and the second channel covering an area with 75 per cent of the population of this country.

Cuba's Carlos Rodriguez Decorated
LD2505112388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes has sent a letter of congratulations to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, vice president of the Council of State and Council of Ministers, on his 75th birthday. In the letter Jakes praised Rodriguez, many years of work in party and state posts and emphasized his personal contribution to the development of fraternal cooperation between the CPCZ and the Communist Party of Cuba and between the people of both countries.

At the proposal of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Gustav Husak, the president of the Republic, awarded the Order of Victorious February to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez on his brithday.

CPCZ Official on Party Role in Slusovice

AU2605103788 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 May 88 p 1

[Report by Petr Novacek: "Talk With P. Cmolik, chairman of the CPCZ Enterprise Committee in the Agrokombinat United Agricultural Cooperative in Slusovice; Communists As Model"]

[Text] As is known, for years now the Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative in Slusovice [JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice] has been one of the leading enterprises of the agricultural-industrial complex in Czechoslovakia, and even within the framework of CEMA. In view of its outstanding results, the following question arises: What role does its party organization play in them? What is its place and what are its tasks in this vanguard enterprise? We asked Pavel Cmolik, chairman of the CPCZ's Enterprise Committee in the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice, to tell us.

"The Agrokombinat currently has 4,360 employees, of which 630 are members or candidate members of the party. Under our conditions, too, the organizational work in our 18 primary organizations and in party groups is a constant, never-ending task of all Communists. It is not an easy job. Consider, for example, only the fact that although the Agrokombinat has its directions of development worked out through the year 2000," P. Cmolik said, "it sets its own specific tasks 3-4 years ahead at the most. This is because we continuously compare our results with the world's best, and adapt our own development programs, of which we usually have seven or eight, to this standard. And it depends most on us, the Communists, to win people for these ever newer tasks, which get more difficult from year to year."

Work discipline and, in particular, initiative, are part of the basic alphabet that everyone who wants to work in the Agrokombinat must master. Are we to understand, we ask, that even in Slusovice economic instruments alone are not enough to motivate people?

"Certainly not," Comrade Cmolik smiles. "Therefore, for example, the CPCZ's Enterprise Committee instructs the chairman of the cooperative, his deputies, and other ranking personnel, to keep on explaining to the aktiv of party functionaries the tasks and objectives of the Agrokombinat's further development. We are doing this to equip the Communists with convincing arguments, so that they can exert an influence on the consciousness of their members in the proper manner directly in the work collectives. This involves purposeful, systematic, and effective political-educational work with people. I will cite at least one case to illustrate that we cannot do without it. As you perhaps know, we have worked out a three-tier system of handing tasks and workplaces over to be dealt with autonomously. Despite all the economic instruments to stimulate the introduction of this system, it has taken us 5 years now to put it into operation, and I can tell you that the Communists will have to make a still greater effort when it comes to motivation before we bring this process to the end."

On the basis of the Agrokombinat's results one can say that the party organization's political-organizational work is effective. This certainly would not be the case if you were not checking how the assumed tasks were being fulfilled—we say.

"I would like to stress that our party organization does not intervene much in the control of economic results. We would be unnecessarily duplicating what is the duty of the economic management. The task it has, among others, is to make a regular quarterly assessment of all ranking personnel; whoever does not pass it, cannot remain in his post. We exercise the party's right to control rather in the sphere of the social program. We see to it that this program keeps abreast of the development programs of an economic nature. In other words, we check the social conditions under which the economic results are achieved, whether people can concentrate in peace on the fulfillment of their tasks," P. Cmolik notes.

And what about the so-called negative phenomena? Does your party organization come across them in its control activity? We want to know further.

"We are concentrating, in particular, on the prevention of a possible infringement of property in socialist ownership," Comrade Cmolik nods. "Therefore we supported the management of the cooperative when it came to an agreement with the District Administration of the National Security Corps in Gottwaldov on setting up a section of a Public Security Corps here in Slusovice. Members of our party organization also set an example in forming an independent unit of Auxiliary Guards attached to the Public Security Corps directly in the cooperative. Otherwise—in the sense of the well-known letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium—combatting negative phenomena is the everyday lot of the cooperative's Auditing Commission. And the Auditing Commission of our CPCZ's Enterprise Committee continuously deals with complaints, suggestions, and recommendations which reach it from the primary organizations."

Ensuring the cooperative's development and reducing in advance to the smallest possible extent negative phenomena requires quality cadre work. Therefore it is logical that we ask about the local party organization's share in it.

P. Cmolik: "First of all, we are working with the economic management when it comes to employing new technical-economic workers. The Communists have had a 51-percent majority in leading posts for a long time now. Further, we discuss all cadre changes connected with organizational and structural measures in the cooperative. And, finally, every 3 months we assess all cases of ranking personnel that are being recalled and those

who failed the regular assessment. To round off the picture I would like to present a few figures: We have 270 employees and 80 people in the reserve of cadres in the nomenclature of the CPCZ's Enterprise Committee. There are about 100 cadre changes in the cooperative annually, of which 25 percent are prompted by nonfulfillment of tasks, 5 percent by health reasons, and the remaining 70 percent are the consequence of organizational changes.

I would like to pause here. We have our own intracooperative system which encourages promising productions and, conversely, phases out less efficient productions. The consequence of this is that 400-500 of our people undergo retraining every year. And it is precisely the party organization that must see to it that these workers comprehend why their retraining is necessary and that—despite all understandable difficulties—they must actively come to terms with this fact."

The Agrokombinat places great demands on everyone, and all the more so on the Communists. How do the party members come to terms with this?

"The Communists must be a model for the rest—we cannot budge an inch on this requirement. Therefore we take great care about the quality of our ranks," P. Cmolik says. "For example, we canceled the membership of 11 party members for passivity last year, and struck 7 candidate members from the register for the same reason. We cannot proceed in any other way. Even though we do not at all supplant the economic management, which is fully responsible for the enterprise's economic development, it is precisely up to us, the party organization, to develop a suitable climate for this development. It is up to the party organization to choose and appoint to leading posts people who will be the guarantee of further dynamic development. And—believe me—this is not at all an easy task in our tough conditions," P. Cmolik stresses in conclusion.

Willi Stoph Meets Bulgarian Premier Atanasov

LD2505200588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1742 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 25 May (ADN)—The building of socialism is a continual process of creative search for the best ways to solve problems that arise. In this, each socialist country must react in time and in a flexible way in line with its own particular conditions. This assessment was made by GDR and Bulgarian premiers Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov, who started their official talks in Berlin on Wednesday. They centered on questions of socialist construction in the two countries, on the state and development of mutual relations, and on current questions concerning the international situation.

Willi Stoph stressed that the GDR would continue the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy. Georgi Atanasov explained the BCP's course in the further intensification of the economy and the restructuring of the economic and political system of socialism in Bulgaria.

Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov underlined in this connection their countries' interest in the exchange of experiences with the other socialist fraternal countries.

The two politicians noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations between the GDR and Bulgaria are developing successfully in all spheres on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov devoted special attention to their economic cooperation, which is developing in a stable and dynamic fashion.

In the consultations the two prime ministers expressed the hope that the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit will provide new impetus for the detente and disarmament process and that progress will be achieved in the sought-for agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons.

Willi Stoph underlined the GDR's support for the reduction of all nuclear weapons in Europe, for a ban on and liquidation of chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments. He referred to the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones which is to take place in Berlin in June, and with which the GDR wants to give further impetus to the worldwide discussion on the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Georgi Atanasov expressed his country's high regard for this initiative. He outlined Bulgaria's contribution to the realization of the coordinated foreign policy of the states of the socialist community and referred in particular to the efforts for creation of a climate of trust in the Balkans.

Fischer, Mock Exchange Dinner Toasts 13 May

LD1805221288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1942 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Vienna, 18 May (ADN)—The Austrian and GDR foreign ministers, Vice Chancellor Dr. Alois Mock and Oskar Fischer, exchanged toasts at a dinner given by Dr Mock Wednesday evening [13 May]. In his dinner toast the Austrian foreign minister said he hoped the agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles will be the start of a new development leading to greater security and mutual trust in the world. The more disarmament and the quicker it is reached, the better for everyone. Austria welcomes every initiative that represents a step in this direction, said Mock. The Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting is in a decisive phase. Austria is making efforts, within the circle of the neutral and nonaligned states, to bring about a satisfactory final document, and is ready to make its contribution within the CSCE process to disarmament and confidence-building. His country's policy is based on eternal neutrality. Austria's neutrality has gained an additional task today, in particular within the framework of increasing flexibility in East-West relations. Austria will not change the direction of its steadfast and predictable foreign policy.

The foreign ministers praised the steady cooperation between Austria and the GDR since the start of diplomatic relations in 1972, and recalled the state visits by Erich Honecker to Austria and Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger to the GDR in 1980 and 1983.

Austrian Chancellor Dr. Vranitzky will visit Berlin in a few weeks. It can be noted with satisfaction that the current visit by the GDR foreign minister is in line with this tradition. Despite all the existing sociopolitical differences, it can be noted that the good relations between the two countries represent a joint contribution to a common European home.

In his reply Oskar Fischer praised Austria's active policy of neutrality, which was an unshakeable element in the foundation of European security and cooperation. Austria and the GDR have an equal interest in continuing the disarmament process and making it irreversible. Common sense dictates that one should no longer bank on the logic of deterrence through rearmament, but should advance from one zero option to another.

Far-reaching agreement between the two states on disarmament questions can be noted with satisfaction. The GDR supports Austria's work for a rapid, worldwide ban on chemical weapons. The two countries agree that all regional measures for security and trust deserve support. The positive response with which the GDR's appeal for an international meeting on nuclear weapons-free zones was received worldwide and in Austria is encouraging.

The CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna must lead to new impulses for deepening the Helsinki process, said the GDR foreign minister. In stressing security policy issues, the GDR is acting in the awareness that anything else loses all meaning in a world destroyed by war. He could only second the Austrian foreign minister's assessment of the all-around development of relations between the GDR and Austria. This well-developed political dialogue, which respects the other side, is the foundation of productive partnership. The positive effects of this for the situation in Europe and for a European home are unequivocal.

Netherlands CP Delegation Arrives

LD2405225488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 24 May (ADN)—A delegation from the Netherlands Communist Party (CPN) led by party chairwoman Elli Izeboud arrived in the GDR today for a visit, at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The guest and her entourage, including CPN Central Committee Political Bureau member Jan de Boo and Central Committee members Edward Koen and Wemke Ketting-Jager, were cordially welcomed at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the international relations department.

Honecker Sends Greetings to NDPD

LD2505102688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0203 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 25 May (ADN)—The SED Central Committee has great admiration for the important activities of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) within the broad alliance of the GDR National Front. This is stressed in a greetings address from the SED Central Committee to the NDPD members on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the party's founding.

The message signed by Erich Honecker states that tens of thousands of NDPD members are working effectively in the assemblies, social organizations, groups, and professional associations to help solve everyday communal and overall social needs. In this way they play a comprehensive part in the results of socialist democracy in the GDR. The remarkable achievements accomplished in the citizen's action initiative "Join In—Improve Our Towns and Villages" is evidence of this.

Throughout society, the voice of the NDPD carries weight because its words are always followed by deeds. The many forms of work that the party members rightly carry out with pride as an important political and influential force in the state reflect the knowledge, deeply rooted in the NDPD, that it is socialism that gives all citizens, regardless of their social origins, ideology, and religion, a broad scope for a purposeful life.

In its decisions at its 13th congress, the NDPD mapped out its future course, continues the message. It is a common goal, in this respect, to serve the well-being of all citizens in peace. The message notes that NDPD members expressed their full concurrence with the 11th SED Congress and cited its decisions in the social guidelines for its own work.

The greetings address stresses that in its historic responsibility the NDPD sees itself as a party of peace and acts according to the lesson, which was strongly imprinted on the will of its founders on 25 May 1948 in Potsdam, to never again allow war to emanate from German soil.

Tribute was paid to the party's consistent support for the initiatives of the Soviet Union and all Warsaw Pact states to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and to guarantee peace on a lasting basis. The NDPD makes an important contribution to the constructive policy of dialogue and cooperation consistently followed by the GDR. Anti-imperialist solidarity with those peoples fighting for freedom, independence, and social progress has always been and remains a task and duty for NDPD members, continues the message.

Having its origins in the struggles for a peaceful, antifascist democratic future for our people, the NDPD devotes all its strength to the GDR's creation and growth and, in so doing, accomplishes historic achievements, says the message. Sincere German patriots, nationally minded men and women of the lower middle class and middle class, have found a political home in this party. Many of them, after bitter experiences, fight bravely and determinedly against fascism and war, imperialism and militarism, and combine the ideals of humanism and peace, gained in different ways, with the programatic principles of the NDPD.

At the time of its founding, the NDPD pledged its support for the leading role of the working class and its party, stresses the message. True to this decision, the NDPD today involves itself, together with other forces united in the democratic bloc for social progress, in playing an active part in further shaping the advanced socialist society and in the struggle to secure peace.

Communique Issued on SED-SPD Talks

LD1805201988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1518 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Bonn, 18 May (ADN)—The Berlin meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones would offer good possibilities to continue the international disarmament dialogue and the discussion on the proposals set out by the SED and the SPD for a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe and also for a nuclear weapons-free corridor in central Europe. This was established in a joint communique today by the joint working group of the SED Central Committee and the SPD Bundestag parliamentary group on questions of security policy, at the conclusion of their sitting in Bonn. The working group met under the

leadership of Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Egon Bahr, chairman of the disarmament and arms control subcommittee in the Bundestag and member of the SPD Presidium. The group was thus continuing the consultations held in March on questions of nonaggression capability and reaching the lowest possible level of armaments with the mutual elimination of asymmetries. The consultations centered on the discussion of confidence-building measures. The working group prepared a number of proposals on this.

The two sides agreed, the joint communique adds, that negotiations by the 23 states which are members of the two alliances, on stability in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, should start as soon as possible. The working group also discussed other matters concerning disarmament and security. In particular they expressed their hope that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles would soon be ratified and that the summit meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan at the end of May would smooth the way for an agreement this year on a 50 percent reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons.

This is the fourth meeting by the joint working group agreed to in May 1987 by Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel. It was agreed to continue their work in Berlin on 14 June 1988.

In addition to Hermann Axen and Egon Bahr, the meeting in Bonn was attended by, on the SPD side: Karsten Voigt, chairman of the chemical disarmament working group, representative of the SPD Bundestag group in the foreign affairs committee, and member of the SPD Bundestag group executive; Erwin Horn, representative of the SPD Bundestag group in the defense committee; Dr Hermann Scheer, chairman of the disarmament and arms control working group of the SPD Bundestag group and member of the SPD Party Council; and Wolfgang Wiemer, adviser to the SPD Bundestag group. On the SED side, the meeting was attended by Dr Manfred Uschner, deputy departmental head in the Central Committee and secretary of the Foreign Policy Commission in the Politburo; Prof Manfred Mueller, head of the Basic Values Department at the Institute for International Relations; Dr Guenter Hillmann, section leader in the GDR Foreign Affairs Ministry; and Karl-Heinz Wagner, member of staff of the SED Central Committee.

Kleiber, Eberlein Address Military Cadres

AU2405144788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 May 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Questions concerning the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and of socialist economic integration were at the center of a training course for generals, admirals, and officers from the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, and Civil Defense. The training, which was carried out under the leadership of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, ended in the Defense Ministry on Friday [20 May].

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, elaborated on cooperation between socialist countries and socialist economic integration, as well as its significance for stable economic growth in the GDR.

The GDR is always making an active contribution to comprehensively strengthening the socialist community, thus making peace in the world more secure. The most urgent task is to further accelerate the pace of scientific-technological development through international socialist division of labor and to apply the latest findings as quickly as possible in production. In this connection Guenther Kleiber spoke in detail about the contribution the GDR is making to realizing the CEMA Member Countries' Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, particularly in the field of microelectronics. In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the 43d extraordinary CEMA session, the GDR does everything possible to further improve cooperation in all spheres and to enhance it in order to increase the power and efficiency of the national economy, thus serving the well-being of the people.

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership, explained the development of Magdeburg Bezirk and the party organization's tasks in implementing the strategy of the 11th SED Congress. Werner Eberlein conveyed cordial greetings and thanks from the 168,000 communists and all citizens of Magdeburg Bezirk to the members of the National People's Army and the GDR Border Troops for their militant and dedicated commitment to safeguarding peace. He pointed out that the Elbe Bezirk, which is celebrating an important anniversary this year with "150 Years of Magdeburg Machine Construction," will achieve remarkable performances in growth and fulfill the plans in 1988, too. The bezirk is also one of the most important agricultural producers in the GDR. The speaker reported on ideopolitical work and on questions concerning the bezirk's leadership activities. Confidence in the policy of the party, which has been tested in everyday life, and in the unity of economic and social policy, have further strengthened, Eberlein stated. The citizens' readiness to participate in solving challenging tasks has increased. This has particularly been demonstrated by the fact that research results and key technologies are used to achieve a sizable performance increase in industry and agriculture, Werner Eberlein pointed out.

'Text' of SED Document Published

DW200601 Frankfurt am Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 May 88
p 14

["Text" of "official use only" SED paper: "On Members' and Candidate Members' Uniform and Joint Action"]

[Text] On 3 February 1988, the SED Central Committee secretary discussed the development of the party and the report submitted by the ZPKK [Central Party Control Commission]. It was stressed that our party has undergone sound development.

On the basis of its program, statutes, and the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress, the party was found to act in a way that is marked by unity and cohesion, and its combat strength and closeness to the masses were considered to have strengthened further.

An essential characteristic of that is the fact that in their political work communists are guided by the principle stated by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, at the 11th party congress: "The SED is the party of the workers class and the whole of the people. It comes from the people, it is part of the people, and it serves the people to the best of its ability."

The assessment made by the 5th Central Committee meeting of the firm ideological unity and organizational cohesion of our voluntary combat alliance of like-minded people and the grown political maturity and unswerving combat determination of communists has been convinvingly comfirmed by their high political engagement in implementing every day our policy that is aimed at strengthening socialism, ensuring peace, and pursuing the people's benefit.

What is of growing importance for increasingly marking the communists' moral qualities is internal party life at a high level in the bacic organizations. As the experiences of the best have shown, the systematic and purposive educational influence in terms of party politics on all party members and candidate memebers by the basic organizations and their leadership is an essential prerequisite for forming such qualities as creative thinking and revolutionary action, aggresiveness, readiness for risk, honesty, modesty, deliberate party discipline, and high party morale. It is most clearly expressed in the communists' uniform joint action and the way they act as examples every day in pushing the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress. The party proceedings carried out by the basic organizations on the basis of the party statutes also contribute toward preserving our party's unity and purity. They illustrate the mature political-ideological ability of the basic organizations and their leaderships to meet the class requirements that have grown to live up to our present time, make them the yardstick for all communists, and take issue on principle with all those who violate party standards and in personal life prove not worthy to be a party memeber. In that respect the basic organizations are assisted and supported by the party control commissions, who, with high responsibility, perform their role of preserving the party's unity, purity, and cohesion as the bodies nominated by the elected leaderships. As before, they have to guarantee the protection of the party. In doing so, they cooperate closely with the party leaderships, and together with them see to it that neccessary party discussions are held with party members who do not live up to their personal responsibility, do not heed party resolutions, violate democratic centralism, and commit anti-party acts harming the party.

That contributes to the party's ideological and organizational cohesion and to the futher enhancement of its authority.

Under the statutes, no party leadership can dodge neccessary discussions and neglect class educational work.

To act that way also means for all party organizations decisively to counter the current attacks and disgusting smear campaign launched by the most reactionary imperialist circles against our party and our socialist state. As before, political-ideological and party educational work has to be organized everywhere in a way taking into account current requirements and showing a high degree of effectiveness, so that the party collectives' combat strength is strengthened further.

Party proceedings confirm this experience:

Wherever ambitious and differentiated work with party members is performed and deviations from class positions and party life standards meet with timely and partisan reaction, that contributes decisively to strengthening and activating members and candidate members ideologically. Such a climate in the basic organizations helps enhance further and to a high degree the way of thinking and attitude of unswerving loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideals, political steadfastness, and deliberate, disciplined action.

Party proceedings and thorough assessment of them contribute essentially toward further strengthening the party's unity and purity and its ideological and organizational cohesion, and enhance its authority. They also have a positive effect on the improvement of political-ideological and party educational work, developing criticism and self-criticism, and on resolutions marked by loyalty in the party organizations. They also further the people's confidence in the party's policy.

In 1987, 19,470 party proceedings were carried out that ended with party punishment or expulsion from the party. Some 8,865 members and candidate members were removed from the party. As a result of disputes because of minor violations, the basic organizations—taking educational measures—admonished or expressed disapproval of 3,856 members and candidate members.

The above figures confirm the party's great stability.

The SED is and remains a mass party facing the high and growing demands of our time, living up to its leading role as the class vanguard in further shaping the developed socialist society, and proving its combat strength, its ability to act, and its closeness to the masses. That binds all basic organizations always to keep alive Lenin's legacy of the party as the vanguard of the workers class in internal party life.

By acting in an examplary way at the workplace, in the collective, in the residential area, and in the family, and through the harmony of word and deed, our party members contribute decisively toward constantly strengthening and deepening the trusting relationship between the party and people.

On the basis of the party statutes, 3,784 party punishments were imposed for acts that jeopardize the party's unity and purity , as well as for antiparty behavior.

Based on its statutes and its role as a vanguard, the party in no uncertain terms stresses toward all its party organizations and leaderships that whoever represents antiparty ideologies or views does not belong in the party. Party membership requires the readiness to help advance under all circumstances our party's strategy and tactics as decided upon at the 11th party congress.

We distance ourselves from those yielding to enemy attack and demagogy. Such persons have forfeited the right to bear the name of honor of a communist. That also holds true for critics and eternal naggers.

The party proceedings that have been carried out reflect the fact that the basic organizations react to attacks against the party's successful program, to distortions and fabrications, and aggresively conduct the dispute with the ideology and policy of imperialism. That expresses the party collectives' political maturity and combat determination.

For violation of Leninist norms of party life and socialist ways of conduct, 9,758 party punishments were imposed.

Those party punishments were imposed because party members failed to observe the statutes and violated the Leninist norms of party life, democratic centralism, and thus the party program or the collective system. In doing so, they also disregarded the obligation to lead an exemplary personal life and failed to meet the demands that the 11th party congress makes on communists.

The party proceedings on such problems carried out by the basic organizations make clear that in some party collectives internal party life has not developed in the way defined by the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, the Central Committee, and the party statutes, and that criticism and self-criticism are dissatisfactory. As a result, wrong modes of behavior are encouraged.

That means for the leaderships and basic organizations that they have to attach more importance to individual work with the comrades as an effective factor of internal party democracy and teach party members and candidate members to observe the party's Leninist norms.

On the basis of the party statutes 4,579 party punishments were imposed for violation of the law.

The statements made by the Central Committee that energetic efforts are necessary to protect the economy and socialist property were observed in principle by most basic organizations in dealing with violations of law, order, discipline, and security.

That is in accordance with the party statutes requesting that the party, state, and work discipline always constitute to a party member an inseparable whole, and that the struggle for their strict observance is always a matter of party honor and party conscience for a communist.

Therefore, the party insists on attaching great importance everywhere to violations of the law by party members, consistently calling them to account, and not tolerating any laxness in doing so, because petty bourgeois narrowmindedness, careerism, and duplicity are incompatible with party membership.

All comrades on the leading bodies of the state and the economy and all basic organizations of our party have to continue to give close attenion to problems of order and security.

Experience has shown that contraventions and the nonobservance of legal provisions by individuals are encouraged by inadequate or no supervision and inconsistency in the dispute with those who are responsible. Any existing carelessness and indifference in that area have to be combatted energetically in all basic organizations.

As the examinations that were conducted by the party control commission show, implementation of party proceedings and the appropriate party sanctions will be subject to our party statute.

The rights of the party members laid down in the statute will be observed and they will be protected against possible wrong accusations. That is also reflected in the responsible handling of objections against pronounced party sanctions, as rendered by the ZPKK and the BPKK [Bezirk Party Control Commission].

The overall climate and the political climate in the party collectives must at all times be distinguished by openness, frankness, honesty, and trustful relations among communists. Nowhere must "dual morality" among the members and candidates be tolerated or encouraged.

There must not be any discrimination toward comrades who have relatives in the FRG or in other capitalist countries and have personal contacts or exchange letters with them.

Part of party morality is that contacts with the capitalist countries abroad are not concealed.

The party does not require that they foreswear their relatives. But they also should not have any disadvantages ensuing from it.

As is dignified for a communist, the important point is that they advocate the party's goals and strengthen socialism with passion and devotion in the GDR and abroad and that they argue with wrong and enemy views, with the ideology of imperialism, and that they recognize the party decisions and act accordingly. That is the basis on which members and candidates must be judged.

Exceptions to the regulation on contacts can basically exist only for comrades who are charged with secrets, and for the armed organs.

When it comes to political-ideological work, the country's realities are to be taken into account. Therefore, it is important to remove everywhere such obstacles that encourage "dual morality."

In the struggle to maintain unity, purity, and the ideological cohesion of the party in the future, an important task of party education will be the ideological steeling of members and candidates, their impact as examples, and their steadfast work in the party and labor collectives. The basis for that is inner party life at a high level. Part of that is working purposefully with each comrade, directing education and training with attention and sensitivity, incorporating him actively into inner party life and into problem solving, and to enable him to do exemplary party work.

Educational work is particularly effective at a very specific level where comrades can be taken at their word and, consistent with their duties as party officials, have to account to the party collective for their political and technical work. At the same time, there is a need for higher standards to be applied in selecting and accepting the best workers as candidates for party membership. Any formalism has to be done away with in the process. The candidates have to be prepared for party membership with even greater responsibility and with their guarantors' active participation.

All party organizations have to make sure that SED members and candidate members set examples, tackle complicated problems, face current challenges with revolutionary zest, and convincingly explain party objectives and functions to the workers.

All party organizations and their leaders should always use the guideline that was set by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker at the fifth SED Central Committee meeting: "Whenever we face new challenges it takes particular commitment in the party organizations. We need an atmosphere that encourages people to have their knowledge and skills contribute to coping with those challenges. Exemplary contributions have to be spotted early so they can be publicized. Identifying obstacles early and overcoming them is equally important. Public acknowledgement must be granted wherever efforts prove worthy of it, and criticism must be expressed wherever it seems appropriate. That is part of the sound atmosphere fostered by our party."

Further on Visit by Thai Premier, Delegation

Grosz Meets With Prem

LD2505224388 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—As reported, Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, currently on an official visit to Hungary, surrounded by a guard of honour, placed a wreath on the Hungarian heroes' monument at Heroes' Square and then met his host, Karoly Grosz, in the parliament. At the cordial talks of limited attendance the Thai prime minister wished Karoly Grosz well on the occasion of his election as general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He voiced his conviction that, also in his new post, Karoly Grosz will contribute to the establishment and development of closer ties between the two countries.

Karoly Grosz expressed his thanks for the good wishes and noted with pleasure that Prem Tinsulanon had accepted the invitation to visit Hungary. The visit is of historical significance as it is the first of a Thai prime minister. The last similarly high-level visit was in 1902 of the Siamese heir to the throne and later King Rama VI. The Hungarian prime minister voiced his conviction that the present visit will give impetus to the development of contacts between the two countries.

Prem Tinsulanon, who arrived in Hungary on his European tour, gave a briefing on his talks with the Soviet leaders General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. He appreciated the warm and friendly atmosphere of the talks. In the course of the visit to the Soviet Union the Thai party concentrated on problems related to the settlement of the issue of Kampuchea. As the Thai prime minister expounded, according to his impression the Soviet leadership is ready to positively participate in the settlement of the issue of Kampuchea. The parties agreed that the debated issues should be settled by political means through negotiations.

Reviewing the expanding Hungarian-Thai contacts Karoly Grosz underlined the importance of the policy of gradual steps and development.

Following the prime ministerial talks, the Hungarian-Thai groups to negotiations met headed by the premiers. The groups comprised the leading representatives of the political and ecconomic life of the two countries.

Members of the Hungarian group to negotiation were: Istvan Horvath, minister of interior, Erno Kemenes, state secretary of othe National Planning Office, Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Peter Veress, secretary of the advisory body of the government, Rezso Banyasz, government spokesman, Zoltan Gombocz, deputy minister of trade, Janos Fekete, first vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary, Peter Lorincze, general secretary of the Hungarian Chamber of Economy, and Imre Szakacs, director-general of Tesco.

Members of the Thai group to negotiation were: Gen. Prachuap Suntharangkun, minister of interior, Mechai Ruchupan, minister without portfolio, Arun Panupong, minister to the prime minister's office, Flight-Lieutenent Prasong Sunsiri, general secretary to the prime minister, Kasemsamoson Kasemsi, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Savanit Konsiri, Thai ambassador to Hungary, Snoh Unakul, general secretary of the National Committee of Economic and Social Development, Chira Panupong, general secretary of the Council of Investment, Suvit Suthanukul, staff member of the office of the prime minister, and Mechai Viravaidja, spokesman of the office of the prime minister.

On the plenary talks government spokesman Rezso Banyasz gave a briefing to the MTI:

Karoly Grosz gave information on the present situation in Hungary, the difficulties and the national goals. He emphasized that the most important task is to accelerate the comprehensive reforms concerning the entire society. A major issue is the modernization of economy and the strengthening of democracy. The Hungarian programme of stabilization is in close relation with the foreign policy of the country. Hungary has an open economy, and intends to continue to participate in the international division of labour. In accordance with the GATT regulations its trade policy is based on the principles of trade free from discrimination. The Hungarian premier recalled that the least developed countries have been exempt from tariffs in Hungary since 1972, while other developing countries, including Thailand, are granted tariff reductions. The Thai prime minister also called GATT an extremely important institution in ensuring trade free from discrimination.

Touching on international issues, Karoly Grosz emphasized that Hungary has been paying growing attention to the Asian continent, the significance of which has considerably increased. Hungary is extending political and economic relations with the countries of the region. He noted with satisfaction the friendly relations between Hungary and the People's Republic of China, which were deepened by the latest visit of the present president of the HSWP to China. Relations with the Indo-Chinese countries are good, and Hungary has highest-level contacts with most of the ASEAN countries. According to the Hungarian stand the conflict in Kampuchea can be, and has to be, settled through negotiations, taking the reality and the interests of the countries concerned into account. Hungary is doing everything in its power to find a settlement, and supports the ASEAN plans to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, and a nuclear weapon-free zone in South-Eastern Asia. Karoly Grosz underlined the importance of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals made at the memorable speech at Vladivostok.

According the assessment of the Hungarian premier, Hungarian-Thai relations have been developing since the establishment of diplomatic relations, and high-level meetings such as those of the presidents of the legislative bodies, have become regular.

The rapid economic development and modernization of the Thai economy offers new opportunities for cooperation. At the same time economic and commercial relations lag behind opportunities. In this context both parties pointed out that the businessmen in the party of the Thai premier hope to explore new fields of cooperation at their talks. The Hungarian Government is encouraging Hungarian companies to expand their contacts in Thailand.

Hungarian companies are able to deliver modern technology and equipment to Thai investment projects. The Hungarian side emphasized its readiness to establish updated forms of cooperation, such as the foundation of joint ventures. There are promising opportunities for the joint manufacture of buses, cooperation in the field of energetics, communications, public health, railway transport, food and the light industry. Hungarian companies are ready to participate in the Thai public health reconstruction programme through Medicor. Both parties underlined that constructive cooperation has been shaped in important issues of the international economy such as the elimination of protectionist and discriminative measures in the agricultural and textile trade. There is good cooperation in the Cairns Group established under the auspieces of GATT. Karoly Grosz said that this year Budapest will host the meeting of the group from November 9 to 11.

At the plenary session Karoly Grosz raised that it would facilitate the expansion of bilateral relations if Thailand relaxed its visa requirements. The same issue was raised at the latest visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi to Bangkok. The Hungarian side would like to receive a positive answer to this proposal.

Prem Tinsulanon underlined that he considers Hungarian-Thai relations very good and that the cooperation is beneficial for both countries. The two governments can contribute to the exploration of new fields of cooperation and further development in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence.

Prem Tinsulanonda invited Karoly Grosz for an official visit to Thailand. Karoly Grosz accepted the invitation with thanks.

Talks With Thai Delegation

LD2605081388 Budapest MTI In English 0635 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Following the plenary talks, the members of the party of the Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon held talks with their Hungarian partners on Wednesday. Kasemsamoson Kasemsi, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, conferred with Gabor Nagy, Hungarian deputy minister of foreign affairs. In the spirit of the prime ministerial talks the parties reviewed the state of Hungarian-Thai political, economic and other relations and the concrete opportunities for development. At the sincere and cordial talks they voiced their satisfaction over the achievements in the development of bilateral cooperation, and coordinated tasks related to the expansion of relations. Reviewing international issues they held comprehensive talks on the situation in the South-Eastern Asian region, with special regard to the opportunities and conditions of the soonest possible settlement of the problem of Kampuchea.

Zoltan Gombocz, deputy minister of trade, held talks with Snoh Unakul, general secretary of the National Economic and Social Development Committee, and Chira Panupong, general secretary of the Committee of Investment. The talks were centered around the opportunities for deepening development in bilateral commercial and economic relations. The partners particularly agreed that there are promising opportunities for establishing updated forms of cooperation besides goods exchange. It was considered Hungarian companies could deliver updated technology to the realization of the economic development programme of Thailand.

The talks were attended by presidents of the Thai Industrial association, the Commercial Council of Thailand and the Thai Bankers' Association.

Headed by Jozsef Czegledi, secretary of the National Council for Tourism, Lajos Jahoda, director-general of Malev, Chatrachai Bunja-Ananta, vice-president of the Thai Air Lines, and Javalaksna Pangsapa, president of the Association of Thai Travel Agents, a Group of representatives of the hotel and tourist industry held talks in the afternoon. Hungarian and Thai experts of tourism conferred for the first time. The establishment of official contacts offered opportunity for the exchange of information on pratical experience and the revision of prospects of cooperation. The parties took a stand on the establishment of closer ties.

Grosz, Prem Dinner Toasts

LD2605084988 Budapest MTI in English 0020 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Wednesday evening Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave a gala dinner in honour of Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, in the parliament. Present at the event were leading representatives of the Hungarian political, economic, and cultural life.

The two prime ministers gave a toast. Grosz-Toast [subhead]

In his toast, reviewing bilaterial Hungarian-Thai relations, Karoly Grosz stated: Following the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1973 the dynamically developing cooperation is characterized by the creation of fruitful contacts in several fields of life. The establishment of higher-level cooperation based on mutual interest cannot be impeded by the geographical distance and the differing social systems of the two countries. The conditions are given to speed up the establishment of political, economic and commercial relations, making use of more developed forms of cooperation. In this context the Hungarian side sees it as a promising sign that the Thai premier is accompanied by several businessmen to Hungary.

The Hungarian people, Karoly Grosz continued, acknowledges the results achieved in Thailand in the development of national economy, and the flexible adjustment to the world economic environment, it appreciates the expansion international activity of Thailand, the country's active participation in the ASEAN, and the role the organizations plays in the settlement of problems between the member states and advancing their economic development and the forwarding of several constructive international initiatives.

Touching upon international issues Karoly Grosz underlined: Our people were glad to see the positive development in the Soviet-U.S. relations, and the establishment of regular dialogue at the highest-level. The agreement reached on the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles can be regarded as an event of historical significance. Hungary seeks to actively participate in the major political and economic processes of the international life.

Over the past 15 years the process of European security and cooperation has proved viable and useful. At the same time international peace and security is one and indivisible, the Hungarian prime minister voiced his conviction. Accordingly our countries interest lies in strengthening the stability, peace and security of the countries of the South-Eastern Asian region.

In this spirit, Hungary supports the proposals aimed at the strengthening the Asian security, the confidence of the countries of the region, the understanding and cooperation, including the ASEAN initiatives for the establishment of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-Eastern Asia. The Hungarian premier voiced his conviction that the Geneva agreement on the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan can give an example for and encourage the settlement of other regional conflicts, such as the settlement of the problems of South-Eastern Asia.

Talking about the major endeavours of the Hungarian economic construction Karoly Grosz underlined that the resolutions of the party conference can give impetus to the realization of the programme of stabilization serving the solution of direct tasks facing the country in the acceleration of economic and social modernization.

More than ever, the Hungarian endeavours aimed at the [incomplete sentence as received]

Prem Tinsulanon expressed his thanks to the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian people for the warm welcome and hospitality the delegation had received. Appreciating the decades of Hungarian reform policy he said that the people of Thailand follow with interest the endeavours of Hungarian Government aimed at modernization of economic structure and the shaping of an open political system. Thailand agrees with and supports the efforts aimed at establishing more intensive and genuine relations with countries of other geographical regions.

Bilateral relations have significantly developed since the establishment of diplomatic relations and economic and commercial cooperation expanded. To elaborate methods for developing bilateral trade the Thai-Hungarian Commercial Committee has been set up. The scientific and technical work plan, which is to be signed during the present talks, represents another important stage in deepening relations.

Reviewing the promising development of contacts, Prem Tinsulanon voiced his conviction that the cooperation of countries with different political ideology and economic systems is beneficial for all participants. In this context he expressed the hope that the present visit of the Thai delegation will give impetus to the development of bilateral relations. This can be facilitated by the fact that the party of the premier include several government officials and representatives of the private sector. The main target of the visit is to elaborate measures aimed at the establishment of higher level cooperation.

Assessing the developments of international life, the prime minister voiced his satisfaction over the decrease in tension in East-West relations, and referred to the agreement on the medium and shorter-range missiles as an important stage of disarmament. He underlined that the signing of Geneva agreements on Afghanistan represents advancement in the issue of regional hotbeds of crises and can exert a favourable influence on the efforts aimed at the settlement of other regional problems.

As to economic issues, Thailand shares the anxieties about the international agricultural trade, which have been arisen by the protectionist and subvention measures of the developed countries.

Prem Tinsulanon voiced his satisfaction over the attention with which Hungary follows the ASEAN economic results and the achievements in the peaceful cooperation of member states.

Besides economic issues the prime minister mentioned the political targets of the ASEAN, underlying that the organization seeks to restore the peace and security of the region, and to transform South-Eastern Asia into the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. In this context Prem Tinsulanon expounded the standpoint of his government on the issue of Kampuchea. Thailand, he said, is striving for a realistic settlement based on an equilibrium of the security interests of all the parties concerned. To neutralize the threat inherent in the conflict of Kampuchea, foreign troops should be withdrawn, and it has to be ensured that the people of Kampuchea exercise their right to self-determination. Prem Tinsulanon took a stand on the genuine negotiations indispensible to the political settlement, and pointed out that the peace and cooperation of the countries in the South-Eastern Asian region supports not only the development of the region, but can also make a contribution to the cause of world peace.

Grosz Meets PRC Trade Union Delegation Leader

LD2605093488 Budapest MTI in English 0842 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met Ni Zhifu, president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, in Budapest's parliament Thursday. The cordial friendly talks were attended by Sandor Gaspar, president of the Central Council of Trade Unions. Present was Zhu Ankang, ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Hungary.

MTI Reports on Grosz Interview With ABC

LD2505135488 Budapest MTI in English 1306 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Washington, May 25 (MTI)—A five-minute interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, newly elected general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, was aired in the Tuesday evening newscast of the U.S. ABC television company. He said to American correspondent Peter Jennings he is a man of innovative spirit and will be ready to come up with new ideas if the time is ripe for it. He stressed the economic reforms started in Hungary 20 years ago, and then came to a standstill and not only because of the unsatisfactory pace of political reforms. At present political flexibility is needed to accomplish the tasks, the general secretary said.

The report covered the Hungarian situation and economic problems and pointed out that the recent conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party also referred to political reforms.

The U.S. PBS television company, a non-commercial nationwide network funded from state contribution and private donations, devoted almost 25 minutes of its hourlong newscast to Hungary. After broadcasting the summary of the British BBC television, the reporter of PBS interviewed Viktor Polgar, counsellor of the Hungarian Embassy in Washington, on the changes and the political policy statement of the National Conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Grosz, Kadar Receive Cable From Zhao Ziyang

LD2505214388 Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, has cabled his greetings to Karoly Grosz on the occasion of his election as general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Zhao Ziyang has also sent a telegram of greetings to Janos Kadar on the occasion of his election as president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The telegram sent to Karoly Grosz reads:

"In the name of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and myself I wish you well on the occasion of your election as general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

"I wish that the friendly cooperation between the Chinese and Hungarian party, the two countries and the two peoples develop continuously. I wish that the Hungarian people reach further achievements in the great cause of building socialism and defending world-peace."

The telegram sent to Janos Kadar reads:

"In the name of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and myself I wish you well on the occasion of your election as president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

"I wish that the close friendship between the Chinese and Hungarian party, the two countries and the two peoples flourish."

In their return telegrams Karoly Grosz and Janos Kadar expressed their thanks for the greetings.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Carries Kadar's Closing Speech

AU2605104388 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 May 88 pp 1-2

[Report on speech by MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar at the concluding session of the MSZMP conference in Budapest on 22 May: "The Party Wishes To Continue on the Road of Reforms—Janos Kadar's Concluding Speech"]

[Text] Esteemed party conference, dear comrades!

At the beginning of our conference, I gave an opening speech on behalf of the Central Committee; thus, my concluding speech can now be short. I will not mention all the opinions and observations that refer to the draft

policy statement. Some 50 speeches were made during our conference, and—due to lack of time—more than 200 delegates submitted their contributions in writing.

In my opinion—and the Politburo agrees—the main characteristics of the debate at this party conference were its openness, the awareness of responsibility, and the critical spirit. We think that this debate during the party conference was a worthy conclusion of the extended general exchange of views which enriched the draft policy statement both within the party and outside it. I would like to thank all the delegates who took the floor during the debate for contributing to the activity of the party conference and to the drawing up of the final form of the draft policy statement. I want to separately thank Academician Dezso Keresztury, who, taking the floor as a non-party member, contributed to the success of our conference. I thank Dezso Keresztury for his words of appreciation in his evaluation of the historical struggle of the party and for the words with which he drew the attention of the leadership and the entire membership of the MSZMP to the fact that the activity of the party determines the fate of the nation. I also thank him for his critical observations concerning the draft policy statement, observations that were also very helpful for us.

The party conference made a rational decision on a rather difficult issue: the conclusion of the debate. It is well known that a total of 245 delegates asked for the floor, but there was no way to hear all of them. Thus, only 49 delegates and 1 guest were able to take the floor. NEPSZABADSAG will also publish the list of the delegates who submitted their contributions in writing, so that this will appear not only in the conference protocol but also in the public at large. The written contributions have the same weight as the live speeches and they also deserve adequate attention in our practical activity.

It is the task of the Central Committee to ensure that, following a thorough analysis of the issues presented in the protocol, live speeches, and written contributions, issues, proposals, and methods that can be used in practice are considered. In addition, I propose that the party journals—PARTELET and TARSADALMI SZEMLE—also discuss these contributions.

Dear comrades!

The party conference dealt with the political approach to the most topical social issues, including the further development of party work, the renewal of the party and the up-to-date interpretation and practice of its leading role, and the further development of the activity of public organizations and movements.

The party conference took a united stand on the fundamental question, which was also the central and most important issue of the conference, namely that the party wants to advance on the road to renewal, democratization, and reforms; it strives to find socialist solutions to political issues; and it is endeavoring to further advance the Hungarian people along the road to socialism. This uniform stand is the most important achievement of the conference and also the most important condition for further activity.

Dear comrades!

I would like now to draw your attention to several issues concerning the party and the society.

I remind you of the fact that the MSZMP was among the first parties of the socialist countries to point out that it is an indispensable element of socialist construction to consider the interest of the entire people, individual groups, and of individuals in the efficiency of our building activity. Our party called attention to this requirement earlier and it has been striving to implement this correct principle in practice.

It is my profound conviction that we must continue to do the same in the future too because this is the driving force and the engine of socialist construction. Concerning the recognitions and postulates of Marxism, I have always believed that in building a new social order free of exploitation and ensuring welfare, human development, and freedom of the people, we must start from the premises that a theory should never be tested on the people but that a theory should contribute to the improvement of the fate of the working class, of the working people.

To a certain extent, interest is connected with the principle of differentiation and the elimination of egalitarianism. It is of general interest to give a green light to every aspect of working collectives that are working efficiently for the benefit of the people's economy and which are working in a progressive direction, and to receive a greater share from the profits than collectives that are working inefficiently. This differentiation must also be applied in individual cases, because the principle of egalitarianism irrespective of achievements is not in their interests either. Anyone who works efficiently and whose work contributes to the prosperity of the entire nation must receive a greater share of the profits than people who do not.

Egalitarianism was born in the early years of socialism and is rather deeply rooted. There are several reasons for this. Over many years, the prevailing practice was that, when wage increases were planned in various institutions and production enterprises, this wage increase was carried out on the basis of which department had received a wage increase in the previous year, and whose turn it was now. Such a practice is detached from real performance and a certain weakness in leadership also plays a role in this.

No leader likes to be "a bad guy," therefore, not many people welcome the practice of differentiation. But they have to get used to it because we can advance only if

there is also interest along with the basic principles of socialism. We have already pointed that out—and all that remains is to implement it—that the practice according to which the budget takes the cream of the profit away from efficient enterprises and distributes it among inefficient ones can no longer continue. The collectives that are indeed working in accordance with the present requirements should enjoy the advantages of their work. However, collectives that are working inefficiently should be at a disadvantage from this point of view. This also applies to individuals.

It was also mentioned during the party conference that a certain laxness has emerged in the general state of society and its morals. This can be felt over a very large area. What do I mean here? Sometime, at the beginning of socialist construction, there was a seemingly fully implemented requirement according to which the community came first, and the individual did not count. This was a mistake and had to be changed.

We have also broken away from the Stalinist concept that Communists are made of special material. Communists are made of the same material as everyone else and nobody was born with a party membership card in his hands. The Communists are humans too.

Nowadays, however, selfishness has spread in society, and, to some extent, this can also be felt in the party. This is not good. One can also see in political positions that some people prefer to outline their own results, rather than firmly represent the party position. Thinking in terms of the community has been pushed into the background; egotism and selfishness—and not necessarily in the material sense—have been spreading in a rather wide circle of our society, which is not the normal condition of our society. And that does not mean that the people should not be concerned with their own life and should not care for their families; on the contrary, the place of the family in society should be further strengthened. However, we must return to the ethical principles of a healthy society, and the Communists must be required to also think in terms of a community.

The party conference also dealt with a very firm requirement to take a stand against egotism and take into consideration the party's demands and the interests of society and of the community; every citizen is required to display a way of thinking and attitude that contribute to and enrich both the entire society and himself.

During the debates, there was a lot of criticism of the party leadership—rightly and with good reason. We must improve the personnel composition of the party leadership and this is one of the tasks of the present party conference. But the leadership cannot produce miracles. In itself, the leadership alone cannot solve the problems. We will be able to quickly and efficiently fulfill our tasks if every party member—and every citizen, for that matter—has a common will and works toward the same goal, and if everyone carries out his job in his own sphere of activity.

People can only create their own prosperity, and socialist construction can advance only as a result of the work of millions of people. This is particularly important to understand today when we want to increase the sphere of authority of local organs and the responsibility of individuals—both party and non-party members. We can advance only with a uniform will and joint action.

Dear comrades!

The Central Committee had formulated important principles and requirements in past years too. All these, however, were not adequately implemented. For this, criticism is justified. Everyone generally agrees with the basic principles, but when it comes to implement these principles, it turns out that with the exception of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, the other institutions operate as particular organs of interest representation. If a concrete branch is at issue, the decisions in question are no longer considered valid; if the elimination of continued irrational subsidies to a certain enterprise is at issue, one does not wish to apply the formulated requirements.

We will be able to achieve our goals and implement our decisions only if our society accepts them. Unfortunately, lately we have had to make many unpopular decisions and we did not expect an enthusiastic reception of them.

I do not think that there are many parties in the world that dare to openly state that there will be no increase in the living standard in the coming 5 years. However, we did that because we consider it a fundamental requirement to make people understand that this is what we had to do now. If we cannot accept that, we can hardly implement any decision we make.

Dear comrades!

We have repeatedly said that citizens prosper in Hungary, enterprises are also making a living, only the country is poor.

The government has some kind of insight into enterprise activity. The majority of the enterprises ended the year 1987 with a profit, but in many cases, increased prices were the main source of this profit. Every enterprise leadership is glad to opt for price increases, because this way it is possible to easily improve the enterprise balance and earn more money for distribution. It is much more difficult to improve work and make it more efficient. Enterprise leaders and members of the leading bodies

must deal with presenting suitable goals, differentiation, creating order, and with strengthening discipline, because, otherwise, we cannot advance.

We must learn that under the socialist conditions, rational economic activity and necessary differentiation are the true ways of interest representation, which simultaneously considers both the current and long-term interests of the workers.

I agree with the demand to take a firm and strong stand—both in the draft policy statement and, subsequently, in the entire practice of the party—against personal connections, unjustified and dishonest advantages, corruption, bribery, using one's influence, palm-greasing, and against economic crimes specially among the leaders. We must demand that public property be protected and preserved much better. Everyone is alert when one has to protect his personal property, but both attention and discipline become lax when we talk about public property. Unfortunately, one can notice this harmful attitude also prevailing among some party members. However, I am deeply convinced that the party can take a stand on its own against social distortions of which both the party and the party members are free. Otherwise, the party and the party members have neither the moral basis nor the courage to take a stand.

Speakers were right when they said that the higher the position one achieves, the farther he can be seen, and therefore the stricter the standard we must apply to him. People watch the way a leader lives and behaves, and have greater requirements from Communists, particularly if these Communists have a high position. I used to tell the party members, and particularly the officials, that they are also entitled to everything that the law permits the others to, but they should make use of less than allowed, rather than more.

All this is part of the requirement for the party to work more efficiently. Today, one has to be openly engaged in politics and must also present difficult questions. If we cannot convince the party members about the need for a task, then the party will not be able to act and society will also not be able to work efficiently. This is one of the starting points of a successful party work.

We must incrrease the understanding of our policy not only domestically but also in the international arena. This is equally important for our relations with the socialist, the developing, and with the developed capitalist countries.

A considerable source of strength for the successful implementation of the party's tasks is the way we promote and develop friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the other Warsaw Pact countries, and the CEMA member states. We strengthen the real partner relations with them, relations that carry new elements. It is our common desire to make CEMA activity even more efficient.

We also require readiness for cooperation from our capitalist partners, of course, without allowing anyone to interfere in our country's internal affairs and measures.

In Western Europe, where we have our widest economic relations, there are reasonable forces that see the future in terms of peaceful coexistence. They are aware of the fact that increasing implementation of mutual security can lead to the development of a broad cooperation based on peaceful coexistence and mutual interests. We have partners for this. Many people in capitalist countries are interested in a stable political and economic situation in Hungary. Recently, Mrs Thatcher drew the attention of a Hungarian journalist to the fact that we should not be so pessimistic because the Hungarian Government is conducting a realistic policy and is advancing in the right direction. It would be a positive development if the Hungarian press really increased the people's desire for work in this spirit.

We can rely on the existence of a party that is capable of work and struggle and which is ready to renew itself, and on the fact that a lot of people outside the party believe in and support the Hungarian practice of socialist construction. The other day, I heard the following from a church official: What is essential is the party because the fate of all of us depends on this.

One hears sometimes that the time we are living in is not time to remind ourselves of our results. All right, let us then speak about our mistakes. But we should not forget and we must clearly state that there is a sense and a goal in our work and our efforts. Otherwise, how could people work and live? Nobody should be deprived of his hopes and everyone needs to see the results of his work. And this result does not depend on whether one works in a large enterprise or in a small factory. It is not the size of the enterprise that counts but its efficiency. We have large enterprises whose products are competitive in Japan and in the United States. A useful enterprise for the Hungarian people's economy is one that—irrespective of its size—works efficiently and competitively.

Dear comrades!

We can be sure that as a result of our joint efforts, the conditions of cooperation in international life will improve.

More rational and efficient relations can develop in all areas in the future. In order to achieve this, among other things, we are conducting promising negotiations with EEC representatives and with various countries' government representatives. We are ready for cooperation in this area. This meets the interests of both sides and does not affect the principles of either country's social and economic system.

It seems that realism is somewhat gaining ground nowadays in international relations and elements of security are strengthening. This leads to the Moscow summit to be held next week and I wish this summit success from this forum too.

The process of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries is a positive development of the international situation. Mutual interest in the changes and current Hungarian practice are also discernible in this process. If we have problems, this hinders the activity of the other socialist countries, and we are very interested in the success of the Soviet restructuring and of the reforms under way in the other countries. We are convinced that the restructuring process will be successful because it fulfills the requirements of our time and is based on reality.

Janos Kadar then commented on some of the proposals made during the debate. He agreed on the need to draw up an implementation program following the party conference, start the activity aimed at modifying the organizational regulation, and to compare some of the conclusions of the party's policy statement with the new elements of the current situation. Kadar supported the proposal to provide party members with full and open information in the future on the meetings of the party's leading organs. Janos Kadar pointed out the need for the party's leading organs to continue to make decisions following a multilateral examination and analysis of the issues and on the basis of a broad evaluation.

In conclusion, Janos Kadar said the following:

I call upon the party conference to adopt the draft policy statement which precisely outlines the direction of activity and the party's tasks in extremely important areas and enables us to continue to work accordingly and in a uniform spirit.

It is my deep conviction that both the party and the country are able to overcome the difficulties, with one difficulty—some can be overcome rapidly, others more slowly. The most important thing is to take a uniform stand. Many speakers mentioned here on behalf of the large enterprise workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals, and youth they represent that we will solve the tasks facing the party and society if we have a program to follow and clear prospects. Many people stated that they wanted a functioning socialism. As we already have a functioning socialism, I would like to add here that our goal is to have a well-functioning socialism. This is the most honest contribution to the interests of the Hungarian nation.

Comparison of Gyorgy Lazar Opening Speech

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 21 May on page 1 carries a 750-word opening address by MSZMP Deputy General Secretary Gyorgy Lazar at the MSZMP National Conference held in Budapest on 20 May. The Budapest NEPSZABADSAG version, entitled "Gyorgy Lazar's Opening Speech," has been compared with the Budapest Domestic Service version published on pages 1 and 2 of the 23 May Supplement to the East Europe DAILY REPORT and has been found to be identical with the following exceptions: Page two, column one, paragraph two, sentence nine, MAGYAR HIRLAP version reads: ...the modifications outlined. Dear comrades, the... (omitting tenth sentence in paragraph two) Same page, column two, last paragraph, first sentence, MAGYAR HIRLAP version reads: ...conference successful work. (item ends, omitting last part of sentence, and last sentence of item)

Comparison of Grosz Conference Address on 21 May

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 22 May on pages 1 and 2 carries a 2,100-word speech by Karoly Grosz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, entitled: "Karoly Grosz: We Cannot Speak Contrary to Reality." The speech was delivered on 21 May, the 2d day of the MSZMP conference held at the Construction Workers Ferenc Rozsa Cultural Center in Budapest. The MAGYAR HIRLAP version has been compared with the Grosz speech published on pages 22 and 24 (contained in the item entitled "Berecz Wraps Up Second Day" starting on page 21) of the 23 May Supplement to the East Europe DAILY REPORT and has been found to be identical, except for the insertion of MAGYAR HIRLAP subheads and the following variations:

Page 22, column one, paragraph six, MAGYAR HIRLAP version begins:

Esteemed party conference!

Basically I agree with the Draft Policy Statement and with the report. The Draft Policy Statement summarizes the debates, which were rich in thought and were held in the last 1 and 1/2 years, and our intellectual and political efforts. The party members worked together to draw up this draft. It is justified to ask whether this draft contains anything new, whether it comprises a working program. I think it does, although I do not doubt that it could have been richer in thought and more accurately formulated. However, I think that the spirit this draft radiates is important, namely, the fact that in the future we will have to do other things and do them differently in many areas. This draft is also new in that it does not regulate details, but sets the main direction for the endeavors of a politically active party which relies on the independent and active collaboration of its members, not only in working out these endeavors but also in implementing them.

In yesterday's debate... (omitting first seventeen paragraphs, adding introductory paragraphs, and picking up at beginning of Grosz speech on page 22, paragraph six)

Page 24, column one, first paragraph, third sentence, MAGYAR HIRLAP version reads: ...measure of values.

We have been... (omitting sentence)

Same page, column two, first paragraph, sentence six, MAGYAR HIRLAP version reads: ...disappointed in us. (item ends, omitting last sentence in paragraph, last three paragraphs)

Comparison of MSZMP Policy Statement

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 23 May on pages 3 and 4 carries the 5,500-word MSZMP National Conference Policy Statement issued at the conclusion of the conference held between 20-22 May under the headline: "The Position of the MSZMP National Conference on the Tasks of the Party and the Development of the System of Political Institutions."

The MAGYAR HIRLAP report has been compared with the Budapest MTI English report carried on page 36 of the 23 May Supplement to the East Europe DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

Page 38, column one, last paragraph continuing on to paragraph two, last sentence: ...and implement it. Prior to a decision, or lacking a decision, the party members can represent their own positions.

In the interest... (supplying additional phrase)

Page 40, column two, paragraph four, sentence two: ...important social goals. It should promote the relations and cooperation between party members and non-party members. By carrying out... (supplying additional sentence)

Page 43 column two, paragraph six through page 44, column one, paragraph one: Around a third...between neighboring peoples. (change position of this passage to appear in the MAGYAR HIRLAP version between paragraphs four and five, column one, page 44)

Comparison of Grosz Television Interview

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 23 May on page 6 carries an 840-word interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz by Hungarian Television Chief Editor Endre Aczel following the conclusion of the MSZMP national conference on 22 May under the headline: "Karoly Grosz Interviewed on Hungarian Television."

The MAGYAR HIRLAP item has been compared with the Budapest Television version published in the 23 May Supplement of the East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 45 and 46, and found to be identical except for the addition of subheads in the newspaper version and the following variations:

Page 45, column two, paragraph three, last sentence, MAGYAR HIRLAP reads: ...do even more.

[Aczel] It is now... (deleting first two sentences and part of third)

Page 46, column one, paragraph three, last sentence, MAGYAR HIRLAP reads: ...lot of work.

I, too, from... (deleting fourth paragraph)

Same page, column two, first paragraph, last sentence, MAGYAR HIRLAP reads: of building socialism. (interview ends, omitting last two paragraphs)

'Enormous' Reaction to Reform Program Examined

LD2505225388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] [Announcer] There has been an unequivocally enormous reaction to the Budapest party conference. Janos Barabas, deputy head of Central Committee department, who, by the way, headed the International Press Center of the conference, has undertaken the first analysis of the special situation.

[Barabas] I think that since the last tragic moment of our people's history, 1956, the Hungarian situation has not been so much in the forefront of the interest of world public opinion. It gives me pleasure to say that now the prelude has been entirely different.

In order to sketch out the reasons for the interest and the basically positive reaction, I must refer back to the fact that in the past 1 and 1/2 to 2 years, the image of the country's international evaluation, as expressed in mass communications, had considerably deteriorated. After this, the political factors that guide the international press had felt that something was under way in the laboratory of Hungarian politics, since the debates, the livened-up internal political life, which prepared the party conference, suggested that the Hungarian party was facing a situation of serious decisionmaking.

[Announcer] What kind of conclusions can we draw from the Western reactions?

[Barabas] The Western reaction was extremely high-level. I do not, by any means, remember any other example of the major Western television or radio stations' newscasts devoting primary coverage to such an event. I do not remember high-level and influential papers in the capitalist countries, the FRG, France, the United States, or Britain dealing with Hungary on the front page before. There has even been an example of one of the leading British dailies devoting nearly two entire pages to the Hungarian party conference.

I would say, having now studied several such reports, that the evaluations in general are correct. They are correct in that they verify the program, verify that the

contents of the program, namely continuing and extending reform and creating the social conditions for economic reform, are a resolution to develop a mixed economy, one with socialist contents which is sensitive to the market. Hungary wishes to realize this through a widespread opening to the world economy.

I think that verifying this, as well as acknowledging that for this a political leadership, a homogeneous political leadership that pursues a reassuring, reliable political line, and favors reform, has come into being, indicates that we can rely on a supportive, sympathetic, helpful, cooperative international backdrop in the course of implementing the program, now and in the future.

In the Soviet Union, and in the socialist countries treading the path of reform and renewal as well, the reaction to the party conference, to the decisions reached there, has been greater than before; it has been more differentiated and positive. This reaction extends to outlining the various nuances of the debate, and also to assessing the personnel changes.

It gives me pleasure that this further forward impetus was expected on the basis of previously acquired impressions of the Hungarian party and the Hungarian ability for renewal.

In the mass communications of the socialist countries, just like in the West, the personal role of Janos Kadar is highly valued in creating the achievements of the historical path of the past 32 years, and the dignified solution the Hungarian party, in accordance with the requirements of life and age, found by electing him party chairman, is also valued. Trust and attention is perceptible in regard to Comrade Karoly Grosz's election as general secretary, and in regard to the comrades who were elected into the Politburo. And by all means this creates good conditions for deepening cooperation, in every aspect, with the socialist countries.

Marjai Holds Talks With Romania's Vaduva

AU2505090988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0555 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Budapest, AGERPRES, 24/5/1988—Talks were held in Budapest between Ilie Vaduva, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of trade of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The state of the bilateral economic relations was examined as well as ways further to develop and diversify commercial exchanges and economic cooperation between the two countries to mutual benefit.

The Romanian minister visited the Spring Budapest International Trade Fair specializing in investment goods where Romania has been a traditional exhibitor.

Red Cross Assistance to Settlers From Romania

AU2005101688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 May 88 p 9

[MTI report: "Assistance to Settlers in Hungary—Communique of the Hungarian Red Cross"]

[Text] The national leadership of the Hungarian Red Cross thanks everyone who, through their contributions so far, have made it possible for the Red Cross to assist financially and in other ways the foreign citizens who wish to settle in Hungary. On 16 May, the special National Savings Bank account set up for this purpose contained 3,853,000 forints, and the Red Cross has been providing steady rapid assistance for those in need. Some 2,773 people have made inquiries at the central information office so far. Among them, 1,137 people received financial assistance, 681 people were offered jobs, 316 people were given accommodation, and 299 people received durable consumer goods.

Only one-third of these people require clothing. As a result of the population's readiness to contribute, several tonnes of clothing have accumulated at the central storage facilities of the Red Cross, and this amount well exceeds the demand. Therefore, the acceptance of clothing in Budapest will temporarily cease as of 18 May. At the same time, however, the Red Cross will gladly accept clean blankets and bed linen in good condition.

Fejti Visits Romanian Stand at Budapest Fair

AU2005124788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1107 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/05/1988—At the current spring Budapest International Fair, Romania, a traditional exhibitor, has an official pavilion. Foreign trade organizations, among which Masinexportimport, Electronum, Electroexportimport, Industrialexportimport, Mecanoexportimport, Universal Tractor, Autodacia display a wide range of computers, machine-tools, textile machines, tractors, microbuses, tough-terrain and passenger cars, replicas of rolling stock, locomotives, electronic and electro-technologic products.

At the official opening of the Budapest Fair, the Romanian pavilion was seen round by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the CC of the HSWP, Josef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade and other Hungarian party and state leaders.

Romania will also attend this year like economic and trading events in Milan, Brno, Poznan, Leipzig (summer edition), Salonika, Vienna, Zagreb, Plovdiv, Tehran, etc.

Romania will host this autumn (15-23 October) the 14th Bucharest International Fair where numerous trade partners of Romania in various continents will be present.

GDR Officials Comment on International Issues

AU1905180188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 May 88 p 3

[Correspondent's report: "International Meeting on European Security Will Be Held in Berlin—Press Conference at the GDR Cultural Center"]

[Text] Dr Herbert Krolikowski, GDR state secretary and first dputy minister for foreign affairs, and Dr Dietmar Keller, GDR deputy minister for culture, who are members of a GDR delegation visiting Hungary on the occasion of the 16th session of the GDR-Hungarian mixed cultural and scientific committee, met with Hungarian guests including representatives of the press at the GDR Cultural and Information Center in Budapest on 16 May. Timely issues of the GDR's domestic and foreign policy and the relations between Hungary and the GDR were discussed at the meeting.

In their introductory remarks, the GDR officials said that GDR-Hungarian relations are traditionally good. This is demonstrated by the visit paid by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to Hungary; the recent visit paid by Lenard Pal, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, to the GDR; and also the success of the events of the Hungarian cultural days held in the GDR in April.

Evaluating the international situation, Krolikowski described the INF Treaty, which was signed in December 1987 as a result of which the intermediate-range weapons stored on GDR territory wre dismantled and eliminated—as historically important. The GDR officials said that there is a complete identity of views between the GDR and Hungary on the importance of dialogue between countries with different social systems; this is particularly true for GDR-FRG relations. Krolikowski said that in June 1988 a conference on nuclear-free zones will be held in Berlin. Heads of state, heads of government, and representatives of parties and parliaments from all over the world have been invited to the conference. From the FRG, representatives of the SPD and FDP will participate. Answering a question concerning the Berlin Wall, Krolikowski said that the GDR leadership will be prepared to consider the possibility of dismantling the wall as soon as the reasons which necessitated its construction are eliminated.

Agricultural Cooperatives National Council Session

AU1905161288 Budapest NEPSZBADSAG in Hungarian 17 May 88 p 5

[Text] On Monday, 16 May, Istvan Szabo chaired a meeting of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives. In possession of final data, the council examined the activity carried out by cooperatives in 1987 and adopted the appropriate position. Mihaly Lehoczki, deputy secretary general of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, presented the written report.

This year, 1,254 agricultural cooperatives and 133 other cooperatives or cooperative enterprises drew up a balance sheet. The value of the annual production of cooperatives and enterprises was 266 billion forints and their profit, according to the balance, exceeded 20 billion forints. It is worth mentioning that the proportion of the industrial service activity of agricultural cooperatives was almost 40 percent.

Nevertheless, the data included in the balance shows that the planned increase of yields in the area of plant cultivation has not been achieved, since the production value of plant cultivation decreased by 4 percent. The output of animal breeding increased only by 1 percent. However, the 7 percent increase of the overall production value of cooperative farms can be explained by the intensive development of additional activities.

The deputy secretary general mentioned that it was obvious that the profitability of basic activity cannot keep up with the additional activities and as a result of this situation, the traditional agricultural counties are much more affected by unfavorable weather conditions, by the deterioration of administrative conditions, and, particularly, by the price increase of the necessary equipment.

Those cooperatives, in which plant cultivation is decisive, are especially in a bad position.

There has been a certain increase of animal products in agricultural cooperatives but the livestock and the production of animals for slaughter has decreased. The loss of agricultural cooperatives was 40 percent smaller than before. The 110 agricultural cooperatives which encountered various types of problems sustained a 777-million-forint loss. Mihaly Lehoczki stressed that this year a situation in the financial reorganization area and, as a result, the management of cooperatives will have more responsibility than before in settling solvency problems.

During the discussions, stress was laid on some issues included in the report and in the addresses of the participants. They voiced a proposal that the cooperatives should be more regularly and more thoroughly informed about the interest-protecting activity of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives and of the associations of agricultural cooperatives. The problems of cooperatives which have an unfavorable situation must be appropriately solved, because we also need their outputs, therefore, it is justified to ensure their smooth activity.

Ferenc Fekete, deputy head of the Economic Policy Committee of the MSZMP Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

Community Development, Housing Policies Discussed
AU1905195088 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 May 88 p 5

[Interview with Dr Laszlo Lacko, director of the Main Department for Community Development and Services at the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development; and Gyorgy Karikas, director of the Main Department for Housing Policy at the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development; by Erzsebet Juhasz: "Community Development and Housing Policy—a Streamlined Ministry"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] In a statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP, Laszlo Somogyi, minister of construction and urban development, spoke about modernizing the work done by his ministry and "streamlining" its organization. Among other things, he said that more and more emphasis is placed on developing communities, community services, and housing policy. We interviewed the directors of the two main departments established to implement these tasks.

One can hardly question the close interrelation between community development and housing policy. There can be no adequate community development without a suitable housing policy, and however neat and nice a community may be, the interior and exterior of the apartments are also important. Therefore, within the process of reorganizing the government work of building and developing the communities, one of the most important tasks of central management is to better coordinate between community policy and housing policy. The Main Departments for Community Development and Services and for Housing Policy, led by Dr Laszlo Lacko and Gyorgy Karikas respectively, began functioning at the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development in this spirit and with emphasis on "everyday" cooperation.

[Juhasz] What were the main goals and ideas when work began at the Main Department for Community Development and Services?

[Lacko] We have to deal with qualitatively different and practical issues. To achieve this, however, genuine cooperation with the main authorities and organizations who are our partners outside the ministry is essentially important. I am thinking mainly of the competent sections in the Ministries of Interior and of Environmental Protection and Water Management, and the National Planning Office. In addition, we would like to develop new, more thorough, and more regular relations with the National Assembly Committees for Community Development and Environmental Protection.

We should make further progress in solving issues concerning land development policy, issues that might contribute to the success of the process of development. Thus we should also promote reasonable land development by administrative means. [passage omitted]

[Karikas] We should also make progress in housing policy by adapting to social and economic changes. We are not motivated to implement this by some kind of a crisis situation. Similar also to other places, we should enrich our work by introducing new elements into it. Just as in community development, the ministry would like to accomplish this task so as to best contribute to economic stability in the spirit of the government's way of thinking.

[Juhasz] In more detail, what progress has been made?

[Karikas] The ministry has concentrated on all the issues concerning housing policy and housing services within its sphere of authority in our main department. This also means that the entire Hungarian stock of apartments will be handled together, aiming at the same time to accomplish better apartment management. [passage omitted]

[Juhasz] For example, what forms of apartment construction would you like to encourage?

[Karikas] Among other things, we are thinking of constructing smaller apartment units on still vacant plots, which will be financed by still unmobilized capital and carried out in new entrepreneurial forms. For example, it is to be desired that in Budapest, instead of large residential areas, good apartments and family houses be built on suitable plots still available in the various districts and in the framework of various ventures.

Party Democracy as Condition for Political Reform
25000162 Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 3, Mar 1988 pp 3-10

[Article by Attila Agh: "Democratic Challenge." Born in Budapest, 1941 the author is a 1964 graduate of ELTE, (Lorant Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences, Budapest), holds a doctorate in philosophy and history, and is a political scientist]

[Text] The conceptualization of the democratic challenge is relatively new in Hungary. Actually, the idea occurred and was accurately defined only in the mid-eightiess in the form of a new upswing through democratization, or as the alternative to falling behind on an international scale or being squeezed out to the peripheries. The necessity of the historic meeting and substantive linkage of socialism and democracy defined earlier at an abstract level by representatives of international marxism has by now emerged as a practical necessity. And it appeared as an urgent necessity, because we no longer have time to waste. Since the global crisis of the mid-seventies, we have used up the maximum time we could spare for adaptation. The times we live in are bound to change destinies. In such times, delays only increase crisis phenomena. There are deep cracks in the economic and social system; one can hear loud cries emanating from the most diverse spheres of society, from education through health care to socio-political

concerns, etc. Only a response to the democratic challenge can assure a substantive change from the semblance of activities created by delays, to real activities which resolve the crisis.

The democratic challenge has assumed a specific stature in the changed role of parliament. After the fall 1987 parliamentary session, it appears that the "yes man" parliament is in its final days—the times when "representatives were presented with finished laws," and all they had to do was to say "yes." (Footnote 1) (Peter Schmidt: "The Developmental Trends of the Hungarian Political System," in Peter Schmidt ed. "Developmental Directions of Political Institutions," MSZMP CC Social Science Institute 1984 p 20. Therein Schmidt says that "Today's laws are formulated by the apparatus and the National Assembly only says 'yes' to them, but there are no real societal debates supporting the decisions." In this writing, I would like to recall several theses of the consensus that has taken shape, rather than the internal, professional debates of the Hungarian political science community.) The fall session established—or returned—a new form and direction of politics; in more specific terms, it reintroduced the art of active, responsible and concerned "political discourse" which one can truly learn only in the "school of democracy." At the same time, a broadly-based dissatisfaction with the earlier formal functioning of parliament was articulated and discussed by the politically oriented public. This debating parliament is a fundamentally new phenomenon in Hungarian political life. It clearly points in a direction in which the revival of democratic traditions will act to gradually permit representative democracy to assume the role which is awaiting its arrival in the political system. This role transcends the "extensive" political system based on the omnipotence and omnipresence of the state and the political sphere, and instead performs within an "intensive" political system the real political function of social direction. (Footnote 2) (I have already analyzed the issues surrounding extensive and intensive political systems in my writing entitled "The Political Paradox," KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE, Nos 7, 8, 1987.)

In taking the initial steps, the hesitant question and doubt of "where to" and "how to" proceed is frequently asked. Although Hungarian political science has not been spoiled by social and political conditions, one can still say that in the framework of debates in Hungary a sketch of the contents and main directions of the democratic challenge has emerged. This writing summarizes some of the more important experiences gained from these debates. Within the body of political science during the eighties, there evolved a wide-ranging debate concerning the possibilities and mutual relationship of the main trends of democratization. Notably, these trends are: (1) popular representative democracy in parliament; (2) functional or corporate democracy (the regulation of the large, organized interest groups); and (3) local or direct democracy (self-governance and autonomies). Although the debates produced various "schedules" as to when and how various kinds of democratization [steps] should be linked to each other and which kind should dominate, there came about a general agreement to the effect that 1. the evolution of a broadly-based, in-depth parliamentary popular representative democracy is the essence and societal framework of the democratic challenge; and 2. what is important in the process of democratization, or in the radical reform of the political institutional system is not so much the development of individual trends by themselves. Instead, it is important to link these trends through their joint development, i.e. resulting in a process in which these trends are mutually reinforced, "with positive feedback." (Footnote 3) (A comprehensive presentation of this subject is contained in Csaba Gombar's study "Democratic Organizing Principles," Hungarian Political Science Association Yearbook, 1986.)

Reform of the Party's Leading Role [Subhead]

Characteristic of the circumstances and causes which delayed political modernization is that while there exists broad societal and professional debate concerning the issues of a popular representative system or local democracy, there exists no such broadly-based debate concerning the reform of the party's leading role. However: "If I recognize the existence of interests, I must make the social organizations suitable to express those interests, and if this is the case, the party's role must be adjusted accordingly. If the party remains in its old position, it will be confronted with tendencies by which differences in interests and opinions wish to assure that they be heard in public." This statement clearly defines the need to reform the party's leading role, but it also states the obstacles and retardant forces that stand in the way of such reform: "Certain viewpoints reject from the outset the idea of reevaluating the party's leading role as an idea that is contrary to socialism. This is so, even though the interpretation of the party's leading role became an issue whenever the political structure of society was changed. This is necessarily so. If it is true that the party is the center of the political structure, then each change in the political system must result in a change also with respect to the party." (Footnote 4) (Peter Schmidt, supra, pp 27-28.)

Unfortunately, however, the issue of modernizing the party's leading role is considered as an expressly delicate subject, even more, a taboo, even today. This is so, even though I should hardly have to stress the point that if the party (leadership) is the essence, the point of gravitation and the decision-making center of the extensive political system, then the extensive political system, and with it the entire "extensive" transitional society, cannot be transcended without reforming the party's leading role. This recognition is also reflected in political documents and in the speeches by leading politicians. It appears mostly in terms of putting an end to the direct intertwining of the party and the state, and in the form of a transition from the party's specific operational-directive role to a theoretical-orientational role. The discussion of

the issue, however, does not progress in the direction of becoming more specific, or it becomes asphyxiated in the course of debates concerning party democracy—mostly rather formal debates which reinterpet the concept of democratic centralism by way of pale shades of color. The need expressed by the sister-parties (Polish) sounds as a more lively statement: a "self-opposition" mechanism must be created by and within the party and for the role it plays in society, and at the same time the parties "must learn anew how to exist as a political mass movement." (Footnote 5) (Interview with Hieronim Kublak, HETI VILAGGAZDASAG 27 Jun 87.) The inner linkage of this dual need is clear and invigorating: obviously, the idea of "self-opposition" stems from the very character of the movement, while its opposite, tunnel vision stems from the dominance of the apparatus-spirit over the movement aspect.

Accordingly, the seed for political alternatives is the modernization of the party's leading role, and this issue must emerge from the twilight of issues qualified as delicate or taboo, and must become the topic of lively, inspiring debate at the minimum within the party, but preferably by political public opinion as a whole. In my judgment, the taboo character, and thus the unmanageable character of the issue stems from the fact that the specific form of the party's leading role, the "extensive" directive role it fulfills in the extensive political system pro and con, is identified with the party's leading role in general. Accordingly, any critique of the old type leading role becomes suspect of having an opposition character on the one hand, while the actual opposition can easily forge political capital out of the contradictions and malfunctions of the "extensive" leading role, on the other. One can break out of this flawed circle by recognizing and acknowledging the fact that 1. this leading role has undergone much change in the history of the ruling party, and specifically in Hungary during the past three decades, and that accordingly, it is absurd to portray one of its given forms as an absolute; and 2. the present practice of individual leading parties in the various socialist countries differs greatly, not to mention their forms of power and governance (the functions of people's front organizations and formal multi-party systems). The spasm of silence that surrounds this issue may be resolved only by way of a historical approach to the party's leading role and to its imbeddedness in all of society. Only this can lead to substantial progress in the development of a new approach.

The debates of the eighties articulated the fact that the essence of the party's function is the societal integration of interests, i.e. the representation of the general interest. But at the same time, the debates revealed that the general interest or the societal interest has lost its earlier meaning, and with that the given form of interest representation lost its earlier function. Prior to the seventies the general interest "expressed a positive relationship with the new social system, with socialism." Along with consolidation, "the above-described conception of general interest, and this category's function supportive of the party's leading role became vacant. The earlier reasoning was no longer able to provide specific meaning to the party's leading role. It thus happened that a view critical of the earlier view emerged, by which the general interest represented by the party was none other than elevation of the party apparatus to a general level, or the isolated interest of specialized direction, or the group interest monopoly accepted and supported by the party. (Footnote 6) (Imre Forgacs: "Certain Issues Pertaining to the Party's Directing Activities," in Schmidt, ed. supra, p 42.) The concept of general interest having discharged its meaning in this manner is a typical indication that the permanent revolution has tired out: Having historically transcended the acceptance, the consolidation of the new order as well as the placing into the forefront of its relationship to the new order, now manifests the malfunctioning character only within the surviving framework as an empty form.

Thus: "The economic events of the second half of the seventies, as well as the present trends suggest that while maintaining the practice of operational direction—and in part as a result of that—the party did not appropriately reinforce its role as a political catalyst and its conceptualizing role. Accordingly, at the time when historic choices and changes in strategy were on the agenda, the party could not exercise its role as an initiator, moreover, because of the burdens implicit in the direction of the extensive system, the party itself became over-burdened, and accepted [additional] political burdens. Growing conflicts of interest within the increasingly complex socio-economic spheres—which were further increased by the global crisis—prompted the party, which functioned with an "extensive" mode of operation, to make direct decisions. This was so, even though "central party leadership has only very limited ability to render political evaluations of proposed decisions which have been developed by branch and functional directive organs of the state, and which were professionally comprehensive and appropriately interpreted. In many instances the essence of the party's directing activity manifests itself in a party decision legitimizing, defining as "the party's will" recommendations which were developed by individual state organs in the interest of their individual partial interests. In the early seventies there was a chance and a need for the renewal of the party's leading role (in the direction of becoming a catalyst and leading force in society's pathfinding), but instead the conflicts of the extensive socio-economic system were treated with extensive means. During the past 15 years divergence between the growing conflicts of the social spheres and economic units on the one hand, and the party's ability to settle and to direct these conflicts through extensive methods on the other, has grown. This malfunction had its origins in the emergence of partial interests as the party's will. It had a paralyzing effect on the functioning of the apparatus, but was even more paralyzing outwards. Society was rather

disturbed because the functioning of this decision-making mechanism "reinforces the conviction in a large segment of public opinion that it is primarily the party decisions that produce various tensions." (Footnote 7) (Forgacs, supra, p 48.)

The political liability that stems from the extensive decision-making mechanism became significant in the period following the global crisis. During that period the partial interests sanctioned by the party increasingly came into conflict with real societal interests, meaning the interest of rapid and substantive structural adaptation. Short-range decisions conflicted with long-range developmental trends, and, as they say, "one or another decision, which 'in and of itself' is not inappropriate, but 'in the final analysis' caused great loss. Today, the responsibility for these decisions does not rest with the specialized ministerial branches or with narrow professional groups. It is the party that bears the political responsibility, because it accepted the political representation of specific natural developments, and of the supportive, not less natural interests." Accordingly, modernization of the extensive decision-making mechanism and of the entire "extensive" leading role is in the best interest of the party (leadership), because the most direct effect [of the extensive approach] is that it leads to increased political tension and a crisis of confidence. The fundamental problem is that [under the extensive approach] there does not come about an institutionalized [form of] interest conveyance and interest representation which corresponds to societal interest stratification, instead all these interests short-circuit within the party, and thus the political sphere discharges itself on the one hand, while all those interests become condensed within the party, where the prevailing partial interests produce short-circuits in decision-making, on the other.

In the final analysis, decisions are made at the urging of external situations, or upon pressure exerted by partial interests. Thus, having excluded the representation of societal interests, the monopoly to make decisions—a political paradox—turns into its own opposite: the political leadership is forced to make decisions, including decisions which are often without foundations and cannot be implemented. Social contradictions were not, or were only to a limited extent, expressed as part of the party platform, and most of the time one could find behind the alternatives the party's "interest consideration," i.e. the central accounting for or ranking of certain societal needs. The absence of an organizational expression of interests also resulted in the fact that the party became a decisional center of interests in which it reached decisions primarily on grounds of professional and international political considerations, and to a lesser extent on the basis of surfacing society's real conflicts and movements of interests. (Footnote 8) (Forgacs, supra, pp 53, 57.)

The continued survival of the extensive political system in the seventies thus lead to the loss of effectiveness within the directing mechanism and within the entire social system. The malfunctions of the decision-making system raised substantive questions concerning the party's old type, extensive leading role. In other words, the maintenance of the extensive character in the decision-making system lent a formal character to the party's decision-making monopoly; without the emergence of a competing decisional center, however, the decision-making function in society simply eroded. The party can regain its decision-making jurisdiction both as to its merits and contents if it takes the initiative with respect to strategic change in the already mentioned manner and thereby renews its representation of the societal or general interest. The general interest must be "newly interpreted" in the form of an interest representation system which is built from the grassroots up, and which, at the highest level of the system emerges as an interest reconciliation, interest integration function. The earlier decision-making mechanism produced counter-selection within the leading bodies and relegated elements of professionalism to the ideological-political background. It also blurred the contours of decisional responsibility. In contrast, in the new mechanism for direction, as a result of intervention only in the final stages, personal suitability, professionalism and political responsibility must become the decisive criterion for the function of leadership. This, however, is possible only, if "below" the highest level of decision-making there exist functional control mechanisms and there evolve alternatives, and if, at the end of the process society requires a truly public and responsible "political" choice between democratically selected alternatives within the individual spheres. "We would stress the importance of a search for control mechanisms which, like effective counter-balances, could assure the continuous provision of information to members of governmental bodies concerning political and other, truly significant alternative opportunities which emerged in the course of preparing decisions, and concerning the professional and political background of proposals." (Footnote 9) (Forgacs, supra, p 56) The extensive political system shuts off already the formulation of alternatives because as a result of its omnipresence and omnipotence the political system actually listens only to itself, since within its own information system only the "internal noises," the local, politically weighed pieces of information, the feedback on central decisions flows upwards. In terms of information flow, the malfunctioning character of decisions rests in the fact that already at the lowest level partial interests appear as general interests, and as they flow higher, the general interest character of information gains strength and professional underpinnings, so to speak, while in the circular reconciliation mechanisms of executive authorities, at the highest level where the "general interest" meets, it has been shaped and molded into smooth, rounded pebbles of information. "Taken together, the central authorities' excessive burden stemming from day-to-day tasks, along with the multiple pressures caused by the lobbying system, and the incomprehensibly complicated circular reconciliation mechanisms...—paradoxically—result in a situation in which the excessive burden of daily information notwithstanding, the

most important alternatives, such as variants which exists even in the economic crisis situation, do not even reach the highest levels of political leadership." (Footnote 10) (Forgacs, supra p 54.)

I have made reference earlier to the deep, structural relationship between the extensive political system and the extensive character of the entire social formation. This issue once again arises in the context of the party's leading role, as an extensive political system—and within it the party's linkage, through its own directive mechanism, to the "traditional," or "old" working class as a class base. One must consider the fact that by now the class base has transformed radically, that a "new" working class has come into being pursuant to trends that may be observed in industrially more developed countries, and with and within that new working class the proportion of workers engaged in trained work, white collar work and services is on the increase. Although studies conducted in Hungary point out that the structural change that was missed in the seventies is closely related to the traditional or old working class and to the related ideology, these studies indicate to a lesser extent that the transition to the intensive political system, which has become urgent, also means that the party must formulate and reinforce a new kind of class base. In and of itself, this matter demands a new system of direction and a new ideological style. (Footnote 11) (Recent and new Soviet political thought prominently deals with the changed class base of the communist parties. This subject was discussed in detail by Jurij Krasin, rector of the social science academy at an international scientific meeting. See also NEPSZABADSAG, 11 Dec 87.) The present intermediate sitution contains the condensed contradictions of transition also in regards to class base. On the one hand, despite subsidies, the situation of the traditional working class is deteriorating and its dissatisfaction is on the increase. "The unresolved social problems of the past decade and the efficiency problems which constantly emerge in large enterprises have discouraged, and rendered passive and indifferent a part of the 'traditional' worker base." (Footnote 12) (Forgacs, supra p 49.) On the other hand, the party has not yet succeeded in winning over, and in reinforcing as a class base, the new working class, even though the movement of this class into the forefront is inevitable despite economic stagnation (even if Hungarian statistics cover up this fact.)

Accordingly, in and of itself the transition to an intensive political system is a many-sided, complex process, which, in addition, is deeply imbedded in the intensive transformation of the entire social system. As I mentioned before, the transition to an intensive political system means the actual formation of the polity, replacing the existing extensive, i.e. the omnipotent and omnipresent policy, with the evolution of policy which functions efficiently in its own sphere, in the function of directing society. Polity thus acquires its true role, the function of central direction based on the relative autonomy of social spheres, instead of the extensive political transformation of society. Only in this way can polity become the representation of the general, societal interest. This representative capacity is not a given, instead it builds from the grassroots and is a final outcome. Thus the method of informal-paternalistic direction and exercise of influence, and with it the sanctioning of partial interests cloaked in the garb of the general interest is exchanged for a democratic corporate decision-making method also at the level of party direction. This decision-making method rests on the management of differences, i.e. it takes into consideration the self-movements and peculiarities of individual social spheres, and is manifestly clashing, and in the final steps reconciling partial interests. The party's central decision-making role and authority does not cease by virtue of introducing this representative feature, instead it gains strength. Having eliminated the heretofore paradoxical political malfunctions, the party's central decision-making would acquire foundations and would become effective. This condition, however, really demands the clear-cut, vertical separation of the party and the state as an institutional system, and the discontinuation of "overlaps." Thus the two decision-making mechanisms would also be separated.

Party Direction and Socialist Pluralism [Subhead]

"Under" and "before" central or party direction, interest stratification and competitive interest representation—"pluralism," if you wish—is natural and unavoidable. Interest stratification is a given factor, and the essence of the diversity interests is the clashing of interests (followed by reconciliation). Denying or mischanneling this pluralism only increases the conflict-potential of society. "Above" or "after" the level of interest stratification, however, under any political system there follows or arises the level of national political integration, or the central level in which interests are ultimately reconciled, [such reconciliations resulting in] strategic decisions and initiatives for long-term changes. As a matter concerning the continuity of the present system one may ask in what way dynamic stability—a flexible preparadness to change, and a social control—could be formulated through "self-opposition" and "self-restraint" at the level of concentrated power under a single party system? The obvious answer flows from party democracy; instead of [seeking answers from] the overweight of an overly centralized apparatus, the change would follow from the restoration of party membership activities and of the [party's] mass movement character. The entire society, within all of its spheres must learn the transition from a monopolistic-monolith exercise of power to a hegemonistic exercise of power, but nowhere is this problem as urgent and acute as at the party (leadership) level. From the standpoints of specific tasks, the liquidation of the emergency situation and wading out of stagnation, the transition appears in the form of a need to radically improve the effectiveness of society's political direction. The party can strengthen its new kind of leadership role if it espouses the role of the

innovative catalyst, if it establishes an appropriate conflict- and crisis-management mechanism, thereby establishing an institutional system for self-sustaining development, and thus the heir to the socialist revolution would emerge as the repository of social and political reform made permanent.

As I have indicated in the foregoing, the transition from the party's new type of leadership role to the modernization of the entire political system represents the central problem of representation: "The party should consciously seek opportunities for direction through state representative organs. Therefore, this complex cluster of problems—which relates to issues pertaining to the substance of representation, to the electoral system, and to the strengthening of the government's governmental controlling role [sic]—is not merely an area that must be further developed, but from the viewpoint of the totality of party direction it also represents an institutional sphere which can be developed into many directions." (Footnote 13) (Forgacs, supra pp 57-58.)

The maximum goal of the transition could be defined as socialist social democracy, while its minimum goal is to establish socialist political democracy. By using the term "social democracy" I mean the society-wide construction of functional-corporate and local-direct democracy, which is a more distant task, and however closely it is related to socialist political democracy in the sense that it is a system of representative democracy, the formulation of the latter is the most urgent task, which can be accomplished in a relatively independent fashion. It can be accomplished, in part, on the basis of the elements of the other two forms which are already present today, and in part on the basis of the further, but by far not complete evolution [of these elements].

Socialist political democracy must introduce the principle of stratification and shared power because of social and internal political control on the one hand, and must provide a central role for the PPF because of the effectiveness and homogeneity of its entire system, on the other. This would also ensure that there is a link to social democracy, one that is moving toward the two democratic forms. I strongly disagree with views which consider the sharing of power as a fixture of bourgeois democracy, and in contrast invoke the principle of unified state power in socialism. (Footnote 14) (The typical viewpoint which reflects the spirit of the extensive political system is defined in "State Institutions Within the Political System," Jozsef Halasz, Janos Sari eds, Kossuth Publishers 1987 p 198. This is a sophisticated handbook which endeavors to take a broad view.) In my judgment the principle of shared power is one of the essential social techniques of European social development which has merit, and which should be adopted as part of the intensive socialist political system. This should be accomplished "below" the party leadership level, at the state level and beyond that, in the form of local and regional (as well as functional) autonomies by separating the party levels and functions from state levels and functions. Society does not fall apart as a result of mutual control exercised with respect to certain of its organs. Mutual control exists today also, but in an adversarial, distorted form. Society does not fall apart especially if we provide institutional guarantees for a flexible institutional framework, for communications media and contact points by way of the PPF. Only in this way can the increased directing role and effectiveness of, as well as the societal control exercised over the increased political sphere be realized all at once. (Footnote 15) (I have described the problematics of democratization from the viewpoint of civil society in "The Defensive Society" and in "Political Reform and Civil Society", MAGYAR TUDOMANY, 1987 No 1 and 10 respectively.)

Today's most urgent task is a rapid and thorough change in the direction of establishing parliamentary representative democracy at the earliest possible date. This could be the only remedy for the present, hardly active society. From there on the cables run in an organic relationship toward the construction of functional democracy (and the simultaneous limitation of large, organized interests), and toward the evolution of local democracy (and the simultaneous liquidation of provincialism, stagnation and alienation). In our society today it becomes apparent what kinds of crisis situations can be caused by the still reversible processes that have begun in our economy as well as in other spheres of society, and where the breaking points come about if the present trend is prolonged. But it is even more important to recognize that on the mid-range, in the generational perspective, some irreversible processes have already taken place. The halting and long-term reversal of these is possible only by stirring up society as a whole. This is so because in these processes we find the reflections and sum total of our entire system of societal contradictions. Above all, we are speaking of processes related to the workforce, and of processes related to all the people's societal reproduction—briefly: public health and public education; taken together: public welfare—which have fallen back from the level of simple reproduction to the negative, limited or reduced levels of reproduction. The most threatening phenomenon of the past decade is our collapse as a nation and as a people with respect to organic, "sound body, sound mind" reproduction, which threatens our place and our prestige in Europe, as well as our national identity and self-esteem. (Footnote 16) (I do not wish to discuss here in detail the problematics of the "constrained national reproduction." From the respectable and responsible literature on this subject I refer only to Laszlo Levendel's "Health Protection, Sickness Prevention" in VALOSAG No 7, 1987. This study treats the issue in its own political context.) The only way out from the crisis phenomena of "national" reproduction would be a political program, which at the same time would be also a social program in the broadest sense of the term. The restoration and reinvigoration of parliamentary democracy would be capable to provide the only possible forum and framework for the discussion and presentation of alternatives for this program, as well as would

mobilize in the interest of implementing that program. [The program I am speaking of] by far transcends the issues of economic stabilization, and even the issues of social and political stabilization. Broadly based, quick preparedness to react, catalytic and alternative-producing movements within society and within political institutions, which link the preparedness to effectively decide with popular control over the state and the political sphere, are natural features of political democracy. This is where social-political stratification evolves from, and the demand for shared power stems from. Examples include the already mentioned separation of the political sphere from public administration through the principle of competence (Bela Pokol), or the evolution of workplace and residential democracy as forms of conduct becoming to citizens, the school of political discourse and conduct within local autonomies (Antal Bohm). (Footnote 17) (Bela Pokol: "Alternative Ways for the Reform of the Political System" in VALOSAG No 12, 1986, and Antal Bohm: "Interest and Local Society" in VILAGOSSAG No 4, 1987.) But still, in direct relation to national reproduction I would emphasize primarily the need for a socio-political institutional system which is far more differentiated than at present, and which, under the protection of parliament could veto and stop long-term malfunctions which stem from the distorted development of other social spheres. (Footnote 18) (Istvan Schlett's study "Approaches to the Reform of the Political System" in TARSADALMI SZEMLE No 7, 1987 deals with the possible mechanisms of shared power and seeks the reform of the party's leading role in a similar vein.)

Taken by itself, political reform also has alternatives. It may be examined in the contexts of transcending stagnation, alternatively of turning into a deeper, protracted crisis. But political reform itself must have an alternative character insofar as tunnel vision cannot prevail, in the form of a certain knowledge of this being the sole possible path. There is a need for reform alternatives, which are sized up in public debates and are tried out in practice. We can easily say, of course, that the country's political arena is not a proving ground, and one cannot select from among substantial political transformations each year. In reality, practical feedback within the reform process is a necessary part of the wide-range of means available for political modernization. For example, one could clearly "experiment" with various forms of nominating candidates for serving as National Assembly representatives, or alternative forms of nominating meetings. The essence is that the various reform alternatives progress in the direction of increasing democratic autonomies and toward the accompanying growing social control mechanisms.

Finally, we may summarily define the possible unity of party direction and of socialist pluralism as the indispensable condition for the radical reform of the political institutional system, and that this unity presumes the party's (and with it the central party organs') emergence in the role of a catalyst and of a theoretical director, the abandonment of the role played as a "multi-armed deity" under the extensive political system, and the [acceptance of the role of] of functioning as the brain of the intensive political system. "Below" the party direction's theorizing level, however, there must come about through self-initiated dynamics a complex institutional system which provides for the sharing and balancing of power, for a democratic assignment of roles and for control, replacing the present distorted and latent pluralism, the apparatus pluralism, and the emergence of large organizational interests cloaked as the general interest. As a result of this process, the party's leading role will become more complicated and more indirect; at the same time, however, it will become far more effective. Within the new, intensive political system there must come about a "new type of party policy movement," a renewal like the one we witnessed during the late fifties, i.e. once again "the party's democratic self-restraint, the institutional expression of the popular character of power," all of these assured through democratic guarantees. (Footnote 19) (Gyorgy Szoboszlai: "The Place of the State within the Socialist Political System," in Peter Schmidt, ed. supra p 93.)

On the other hand, transformation cannot be "handed down to the people." The essence of the democratic challenge is precisely that the people have direct linkage with the political institutional system and actively participate in it. Accordingly, this brief sketch of the democratic challenge may be concluded by emphasizing the significance of self-regulation and self-organization, as contrasted to the over-centralized political system. "We must return to that fundamental Marxist principle according to which conditions must be formulated so that everything should be subject to self-governance and self-regulation, except matters which cannot be resolved that way." (Footnote 20) (Interview with Imre Pozsgay by Andras Sylvester: "Conflict, Order and Freedom" VILAGOSSAG No 3, 1987.)

14 Dismissed for Participating in Strikes

AU2505142988 Paris AFP in English
1418 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 25 (AFP)—Fourteen workers have been dismissed for participating in recent strikes that ended with the government promising no reprisals against strikers, dissident sources said Wednesday.

Six workers from Gdansk's Lenin Shipyard have been laid off, along with five at the Stalowa Wola steel mill and two at the public transport authority in Szczecin.

Also dismissed was the leader of the strike at the Nowa Huta steel mill, Andrzej Szewczuwaniec, who fled the mill before government forces took it over and has been living clandestinely since, the sources said.

In addition to the 14 dismissed, five others at the Nowa Huta steel mill have been notified they would lose their jobs.

First Day of Sejm Deliberations Closes

LD2505193388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 25 May 88

[Excerpts] From our Sejm reporter:

[Reporter] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, this is the Sejm studio. Ten minutes ago the first day of the Sejm deliberations ended. [passage omitted] The Sejm will restart its discussions tomorrow at 0900 [0700 GMT]

Reopens 26 May

LD2605091288 Warsaw PAP in English
0844 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—The Sejm (parliament) resumed today its debate on the implementation of the law on the protection and shaping of natural environment.

Today's agenda also covers the report of Sejm committees on the deputies draft law on establishing the distinction "Lenino battle cross", draft amendments to penal law and misdemeanour law regulations, the report of Sejm committees on the government's draft amendments to the law on prices, and questions from the floor.

Government Decree on Special Powers Examined

AU2605105688 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
19 May 88 p 4

["Council of Ministers Decree of 13 May 1988 on Implementing Certain Items of the Law on Special Powers Granted to the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] To improve the flow of goods to marketplaces, to counter unjustified price hikes, to create conditions in which to improve the balance between cash and goods, to discipline the economy with the help of wages, to accelerate the completion of unfinished investments, and to improve the administration with development funds, the following measures are ordered in line with Article 1, Items 7 and 8, of the law of 11 May 1988 on special powers for the Council of Ministers (THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE, Issue 13, Position 98):

Paragraph 1.

1. Before concessions in income taxation and in taxation on above-norm wages can be made on account of export sales by socialized economy units, the flow of goods to marketplaces must be maintained at least the level of 1987.

2. This condition does not apply to producers of machines, equipment, transportation stock, and the goods the demand for which has decreased in the opinion of the minister of domestic market. It does not apply to cases in which maintaining the flow of goods to marketplaces would make it impossible to honor contracts with foreign partners signed before this decree comes into force.

Paragraph 2.

The period of taxation concessions in connection with economic activities will be extended up to 31 December 1988, if the validity of these concessions ends before 31 December 1988.

Paragraph 3.

1. Within 14 days of receiving information that it is intended to raise contracted prices on goods and services, the treasury may postpone price hikes for no longer than 6 months.

2. If prices are raised and charged, although the treasury has not been informed or although price hikes have been postponed, the salesman is obliged to return the difference to the buyer or to the state. In addition, the salesman is obliged to make an additional payment of the same amount to the state.

3. Machines, equipment, transportation stock, and other means of production excluded from compulsory mediation under different procedures can be sold at prices fixed through open tenders, the principles of which will be defined by the minister of domestic market.

Paragraph 4.

1. After this decree has come into force, the increase in the overall amount of wages paid in amounts that create the obligation to pay taxation on account of above-norm wages is, provided this taxation exceeds 25 percent of the planned profits for 1988, responsible for:

1) The loss of institutional concessions in taxation on account of above-norm wages for the given year,

2) The increase by 50 percent in taxation on account of above-norm wages for the given year.

2. Economic units that increase the overall amount of wages as defined in Item 1 are obliged to inform the appropriate treasury chambers.

3. Economic units in which taxation obligations arise on account of taxation for above-norm wages will make on-account taxation payments in 1988 in line with the following schedule:

1) Up to 31 May for the first quarter,

2) Up to 25 July for the second quarter,

3) As of 1 July, for monthly periods up to the 25th day of every succeeding month,

4) For December up to 28 December.

4. On the motion of the economic unit, the finance minister's grant of individual taxation concessions in connection with payments of above-norm wages for 1988 is suspended.

Paragraph 5.

1. It is prohibited to spend funds on new investments sponsored by units of the socialized and private economies and involving the construction of:

1) Administrative buildings included in Subgroup 14 of "office buildings" in the Main Statistical Office's classification of fixed assets,

2) Other buildings included in Group 1 of "buildings" in the Main Statistical Office's classification of fixed assets.

2. The prohibition mentioned in Item 1, Point 2 does not apply to housing construction and its technical and social infrastructure, to installations protecting the natural environment, to health and social welfare facilities, to educational, upbringing, culture, art, physical training, tourism, and recreation facilities (Branches 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88 of the national economy's classification), to investments connected with developing material production and housing construction materials, to agricultural and food investments, to investments undertaken with foreign partners, to export investments, and to investments connected with eliminating the results of natural disasters.

Paragraph 6.

[no initial roman numeral as published]

The economic units that undertake investments prohibited by Paragraph 5, Item 1 will not be granted:

1) Concessions and cancellations concerning the sinking fund payments to the central budget,

2) Concessions and cancellations concerning the payment of investment deposits fixed by the laws on the fiscal economy in state enterprises and on socioeconomic planning.

Paragraph 7.

1. It is prohibited to spend resources of the development fund or of similar funds on:

1) New investment projects, if investments already begun have been delayed,

2) Modernizing and furnishing office buildings.

2. Item 1, Point 1 does not apply to the Polish Railroads and the Polish Post Office.

3. The units that undertake investments prohibited in Item 1, Point 1 will no longer be able to receive income tax concessions on account of investments and will be subject to the rules of Paragraph 6.

Paragraph 8.

This decree comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

Signed: Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Glowczyk Addresses Piotrkow Party Plenum

AU2505113588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 88 p 3

[Speech by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 18 May plenum of the Piotrkow Voivodship PZPR Committee at Piotrkow]

[Text] Esteemed friends and comrades! The world and socialism are at a turning point. Almost everything is being revalued—relations between states and peoples, relations between classes and social strata. That is a measure of the depth to which we perceive the role of the individual and his relations with society.

In some societies these changes are gradual. But in others they are assuming a revolutionary tempo.

Are these changes favorable to socialism? To this question, which is frequently asked inside the party and by its allies and adversaries, one can also reply by means of other questions: Is the new thinking on the subject of interstate relations, war, and peace favorable to socialism? Does the constant liberation of states and peoples

from the yoke of imperialism weaken socialism? Is it dangerous to socialism that the very countries that are building it are now reconsolidating humanitarianism, people's rule, rational management, and the implementation of Leninist principles?

At the Ninth PZPR Congress, 7 years ago, we decided to leave the political and economic chaos behind by adopting an innovative course, an untrodden path of socialist renewal, a path of struggle against conservatism, a path of reforms and national accord. In extremely unfavorable conditions, at a time of profound economic and social instability, we implemented an economic reform that is characterized by independence, self-management, and self-financing, in other words, a reform based on decentralization and work efficiency. This reform has brought undeniable results, although when we look back today, we can say that it was not sufficiently geared to the political reforms. Nevertheless, it has prevented economic collapse, and has achieved a modest but sure annual growth in the national product and stopped a further decline in the standard of living.

We learned and gathered experience during the reform. Conservative trends, errors, and obstacles revealed themselves, encouraged by the Western restrictions. Therefore, it was necessary to seek new, more radical development impulses, and we realized that these would require temporary sacrifices.

The 10th congress boldly laid down the political reforms and planned the democratization of social relations. A road leading to the expansion of national accord and socialist pluralism was opened. It is this very path that has been attacked in recent weeks. There were attempts to exploit the justified fears connected with the adoption of more intensive methods of economic management and fears of higher living costs and of changes to the traditional hierarchy of industrial branches, plants, and professions.

There is no doubt that in the minds of the strike organizers, if not in the minds of the participants as a whole, the purpose of the strikes was to sow unrest and not just halt the socialist reforms in our country, but also to interrupt the positive development of dialogue between states with various systems.

Nevertheless, the situation was understood by most of our society who, even though it is critically minded and impatient, wants to solve its problems in peace and wants broader democracy and more open national accord, and realizes that the path to all this is not via destructive strikes. The small but well-organized groups, who enjoyed outside support, failed to win support in large enterprises even in Gdansk, even in the Lenin Shipyard itself.

History does not like to repeat itself. But the aging veterans of "Solidarity" did not understand this.

This is what the English GUARDIAN of 12 May wrote: "Indeed, there were those in the West who longed for a return of 1980 and 1981, and that is why they did not want to notice any major differences between that period and today, as well as the fact that this would inflict great pain on a normal Pole. He who calls on others to suffer for the sake of someone else's convictions is always suspicious."

That is why that which was meant to block the broad process of national accord, lead to confrontation, pave the way for conservative and antireformist forces, and prevent a complete normalization of relations with the West, collapsed.

Now there are attempts to blame the failure of the strikes on the spontaneous action of young and inexperienced people. This is a naive calculation. The unjammed Polish-language, but not Polish, radio stations never asked the young people who let themselves be drawn into the strike hooliganism what they thought.

To this I would like to add the following. Those citizens of ours who promoted foreign interests for years in Poland have now caused the prestige of the United States to fall in the eyes of Polish society. They demanded that the Polish Government be punished and scared everyone with the displeasure of rich Uncle Sam, thinking that this would result in a dislike of one's own government and sympathy toward foreign governments.

However, no one likes to be threatened, especially we Poles. The results were the complete opposite of what was expected. The public opinion polls clearly show this.

Right now, only 23 percent of Poles consider the United States to be friendly toward Poland. Unfortunately, this view also colors the American people, which include over 10 million people of Polish descent. Only 32 percent of the respondents said they approve of America. And yet there were and still are many historical reasons for the prestige of America and the Americans to be high in the eyes of Polish society. These reasons include the anti-Hitler coalition. In the seventies, 48 percent of the Poles still considered the United States to be a friendly country. What has happened is the result of treating Poland like a tool and the result of badly chosen friends of America here in Poland, representatives of a body that is supposed to be independent but is, in fact, clearly paid from outside. One wonders how a great power, with such a powerful information-gathering apparatus, could be dependent on such unreliable helpers for so long.

During this period, and especially during the new conditions created by the restructuring in the Soviet Union, the prestige of this state and its leader has reached an exceptionally high level in our society. Tests reveal that 70 percent of our citizens consider our eastern neighbor to be friendly toward Poland. This is the result of the generally-appreciated transparency and equality of our political and economic relations. The mutual influence

of our cultures also plays an important role. In the Soviet Union, the doors to Polish culture are wide open. The works of our writers, ranging from "With Fire and Sword" and "Pan Tadeusz" on the one hand, to Iwaszkiewicz's "Fame and Fortune" and Lem's "Solaris" on the other, are being published there in print runs amounting to millions of copies. Polish films and plays are popular in the Soviet Union. Polish music, ranging from Chopin to Penderecki, is frequently to be heard in concert halls. Polish and Soviet scientists enjoy closer contacts. Will Polish culture ever have such a chance in the United States?

Comrades! Our economy is based on two great pillars—agriculture and agricultural processing; and industry, including the industrial branches that satisfy the needs of agriculture.

In the eighties, in an exceptionally difficult situation, our agriculture showed an ability to stand up to the crisis. This was because of the great effort of the farmers and because they were able to enjoy reformed conditions before anyone else. This applies to all sectors of agriculture.

A long-expected emphasis on agriculture occurred in industry in the eighties. Agriculture was accorded the right to take greater advantage of the country's industrialization. This was one of the most important features of the new approach toward the solving of economic problems. This process is accelerating in line with the effects of the economic reform on industry.

Provided that industry receives suitable support, we have every possibility of feeding the country and achieving major exports of agricultural produce. Agriculture and the food industry is already earning enough to pay for its own import requirements. It is necessary to consolidate our position as exporters of agricultural produce.

Conditions are becoming increasingly more favorable for a new philosophy of management and for a new turn in the direction of market commodities, especially food. This is a task that is currently being performed by many countries, and is emphasized particularly strongly in the USSR.

A lot has been said lately, mainly in critical terms, about various pressure groups struggling for their interests. The struggle against inflation certainly requires a pressure group to encourage market production, because this lies in the interests of all society. I ask all Polish journalists to support such a pressure group and join it. In fact, that is the direction in which government economic policy is being reorientated, something that is encouraged by the present revision of investment policy and the alterations to the structure of production.

The latest difficult years have taught us a lot, especially realism. Let me be honest and say that the raging inflation cannot be overcome without bringing the speed of wage rises gradually into line with the speed of growth in output and productivity. This year, wages will rise by over 10 percent, but output will only rise by a few percent. This requires no comment.

One of the most successful ways of counteracting inflation in Europe was recently applied in Italy. The Italians abandoned the automatic wage rises that used to accompany price increases. This difficult but necessary step was supported by the trade unions and by the major political forces in Italy. This was a radical step, and it brought radical and expected results.

In Poland it is worth considering the kind of social agreement that would not merely defend someone's own interests, but would involve a temporary foregoing of one's rights for the sake of healing the economy, providing it with normal development conditions, and giving society normal living conditions —without the degrading rationing, lines, and speculation.

We should counteract the great problems we are encountering with a great ability to solve them. This cannot be achieved by a duel. It is something that involves the entire three-party coalition and its allies.

Each party in this coalition, while preserving its own identity, bears responsibility for the success of the whole coalition. As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the 10th ZSL Congress: "Our coalition is not a decoration of the political stage or an enforced choice. Based on joint goals and fundamental precepts, it possesses a strategic dimension."

Society's attitude during the last difficult weeks shows that the firm majority said "no" to those who tried to "reform" the economy by means of strikes. This is a thinking majority, one that separated itself from those, fortunately, few people who tried to drag us into a new conflict. This is a majority which has had enough of the sluggishness of various bodies of authority and administration. This majority must be permanently allowed to speak, not just in times of crisis.

The challenge facing the party and the allied political forces is to pursue the policy of democratization more boldly and openly. This means not so much looking for better ways of leading society, as looking for ways of leading the country with society's participation, even with the participation of those who are still setting themselves at a distance from public life.

Democracy is not just a way of solving great national issues. It is also the ability to resolve conflicts and discrepancies in smaller communities, such as rural districts, towns, and factories.

And yet many matters are still waiting to be solved, and it takes a major push in order to solve them. And this is a great forum of activity for party organizations and the press.

Someone once wrote to a newspaper saying that democracy in Poland will become visible on the day when he can say what he likes not just about the government, but also about his immediate supervisor. Let us consider this as an appeal to the party and press for the creation of conditions that will permit such a democracy on a daily basis.

This process must be constantly revived by party organizations, and must receive constant backing from the press, radio, and television. This conforms to the principles which the journalists established for themselves at their last congress. Now it is necessary to make the columns of the press and the air time of radio and television widely available to representatives of all professional and social groups.

Esteemed comrades! There are great reserves of unused energy in our society. They cannot be liberated without a bold vision of Polish socialism, a vision for which longer working hours are required than those laid down in the labor code.

The great task of transforming the world that is being tackled by present generations cannot make one lose heart. Only he who does nothing at all is the one who never errs. We have nowhere to retreat. We must bring ourselves to act so that we can overcome the difficulties and not let the difficulties overcome us. I believe there is a chance to turn away from words toward deeds. It is up to us to use it.

Jaruzelski Receives Hospital Building Council

LD2505211988 Warsaw PAP in English
1648 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—President of the Polish Council of State General Wojciech Jaruzelski today received members of the Presidium of the Citizen's Council for the Construction of the Polish Mother's Health Centre, a hospital-monument.

Chairman of the Council Zenon Komender briefed those gathered on progress in the construction stressing that it shows how much can be done with joint effort of the people.

POLITYKA Views Personality Cult

AU2505171288 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
21 May 88 p 2

[From the "Press review"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] GAZETA ROBOTNICZA on 6 May published an interview with Actor Zbigniew Zapasiewicz, director of the Teatr Dramatyczny in Warsaw, by Ewa Gil-Kolakowska. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Gil-Kolakowska] If an actor performs in the Congress Hall in honor of, say, Edward Gierek's birthday, is he aware of an artistic success?

[Zapasiewicz] I cannot stand the people who now, after a passage of a few years, deceive themselves and others by asserting that they knew all at once that Gierek was a swindler and embezzler.... Yes, I did participate in such performances. All the people were crying: We will help! I am not ashamed of the fact that I have been deceived. Shame on those who have deceived us. I have never offended against good state. But since I have lived through Stalinism, Gomulkaism, and Gierekism, I now beware of committing myself to strictly political activities. Still, I realize that I work under specific social conditions and in a specific setup. It is no use pretending that this is not so. I will never again sign some ideological declarations, but I admit that I am aware of certain pragmatism in the conduct of the authorities, who now face greater problems than craving expressions of affection from a director of any theater at all.

MSZMP Shows 'Strong Reformatory Movement'

AU2605122688 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish
23 May 88 pp 1, 5

[Pawel Lewandowski Budapest dispatch: "Karoly Grosz Is New General Secretary of the MSZMP—Strong Reformatory Movement"]

[Text] Janos Kadar has been MSZMP general secretary for 32 years. On the evening of 22 May, this function was entrusted to Premier Karoly Grosz. Janos Kadar was made party chairman.

Almost 200 foreign journalists were not bored watching the MSZMP conference, the first for 31 years. Its motto could have been what Imre Pozsgay, secretary of the PPF and one of the boldest reformers in Hungary, said: "There is a general conviction that things must not continue to develop in the old way...."

It is certain that no one doubted his words. Even in his introductory speech on Friday, Janos Kadar invested the conference with a critical mood: "More and more people are uncertain about the future because of present difficulties. Our institutional political system has not been up to standard under changed conditions. There have been upsets, the general mood has deteriorated, and one's trust in the party and the leadership has weakened...."

The general secretary has not spoken such strong words for a long time, but Premier Karoly Grosz was even more outspoken on Saturday: "We have been content with our past successes.... Some institutions have come to believe in their infallibility."

Gyorgy Barta, party secretary at Budapest Polytechnic, said that too many erroneous decisions had been made in the previous years and that no alternative solutions had been offered. There was no true control over the realization of tasks. History will make us account for our conservatism, he said.

Katalina Bleier, a worker in the Kontakt plant in Sentesz, argued that the life of workers is hard and that they are supposed to be able to support their families while working 8 hours a day, but that this is illusion, because they often have to work 14 hours a day to keep their families.

This shows that the diagnosis put forward by the conference was very severe and penetrating.

Aside from their critical views, the delegates submitted many postulates. The conference expressed its decisive support for the idea of the bill on economic companies. This new legal enactment will crucially extend the action opportunities for all enterprising individuals and will make it possible for capital to be transferred between various forms of ownership, which means that yet another stride toward the market economy is now certain, except for the moment at which the Hungarians take it.

The conference also answered important political questions. It noted that party renewal is the first necessity. The establishment of other political or youth organizations can be discounted. The MSZMP's position on this is absolutely clear.

Many speeches from the floor addressed the problems of young people, who feel most acutely the effects of the crisis. Housing shortage, low wages, material difficulties in upbringing children—these are the hardships of the younger generation of Hungarians. This situation can also be seen in political life. Csaba Hamori, head of the Communist Youth Union, conceded: "In the past few years we have lost the battlefields in major universities. The people in their twenties give us fewer chances than those in their thirties...."

All this has been responsible for the fact that the Hungarians, including the delegates to the conference, cannot imagine forging ahead without crucial changes in political and economic life. But their critical appraisals do not mean that they are helpless. Karoly Grosz expressed himself in this way:

"Every situation can be solved, and we know this from our historical experience. The present problem is not whether we are able to act. The problem is to do what is necessary and what is worth doing. It goes without saying that we have to pay for results. They have their price, and we have to pay it, but helplessness would cost us incomparably more."

That the election took place in the spirit of reforms is attested to by party elections. Imre Pozsgay, who has recently become almost a symbol of the advocates of reforms, was elected Politburo member and so was Rezsos Nyers, who began implementing the new economic mechanism in 1968 and who is regarded as a great champion of the market economy.

There is no doubt that what is taking place on the Hungarian political stage will also influence the situation in other socialist countries. Just before he was made general secretary, Karoly Grosz expressed this trend rather strongly:

"We have now been in conference for 3 days not for our sake but for the sake of elevating [wyniesienie] our people. At the same time, I am convinced that not only the fate of the Hungarian people, but also that of the entire socialist world will be determined during these years for along time to come. That is why our successes continue to influence, even if to a modest extent, the renewal that is going on throughout the entire socialist system. On the other hand, our eventual defeat would strengthen the position of the conservative forces, which are against progressive aspirations of socialism. That is why our responsibility has increased enormously. I trust that neither the Hungarian people nor our friends abroad will be disappointed by us."

Washington's 'Solidarity Corner' Criticized

LD2505201388 Warsaw PAP in English 1948 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—The UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that the U.S. Senate adopted a draft resolution May 24 under which a place in the vicinity of the Polish Embassy in Washington will be renamed "Solidarity Corner."

The fiasco of Walesa's appeal two weeks back for a nationwide strike in support of the illegal strike in the Gdansk shipyard clearly suggests that the most appropriate name would be rather "Solidarity blind alley," especially when some Western politicians evidently close their eyes while speaking of Polish reality.

It is worth recalling that the ABC network's programme "this week With David Brinkley" on May 8, said that on the guarantee of one senator the "Solidarity" is on the federal payroll. Now there will also be a street name in addition to this list. But it would be better to have a possibly precise name, not the one picked up at random again.

Western Polish Doctrine Aims To Upset Balance

AU2505134888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 May 88 p 8

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "Western Doctrinarians Are Fighting a Battle for the 'Polish Chip '"]

[Excerpts] Information about Poland and Western propaganda are clearly aimed at perpetuating the principle of using our country as a tool of the global politics of the

United States and its allies. The goal is the same as ever—to alter the balance of forces in Europe. The changes suggested by this propaganda are the result of failures, historical experience, and false conclusions about the structural changes in the socialist countries.

For example, the new way of thinking on the subject of international relations is making Western politicians and political scientists think that the time is ripe for the United States and its stronger West European allies to intervene in the East European transformation processes with a whole series of demands, wishes, and ideological, economic, and political pressure. Just because Mikhail Gorbachev has written his book called New Thinking and described in various speeches "the variety of ways of developing socialism in different countries," they think they can launch a full-scale attack on each country. [passage omitted]

No wonder Poland is becoming an attractive target of Western operations. First, we are experiencing economic troubles caused to a major extent by our own mistakes, our gullibility toward the West, and the later sanctions. Second, we are implementing profound socioeconomic reforms, which permit various kinds of activity in every sphere of life. Third, we are a country of geopolitical importance, with a considerable human and economic potential. Fourth, we are are a partner of the Soviet Union and socialist community, a partnership that guarantees our sovereignty and permanent statehood.

So Polish reality presents a temptation for the West to put forth plans to "influence" Poland. [passage omitted]

In the present plans to influence Poland, the accent is being switched from political blackmail to economic blackmail. However, this change can only be considered a sign of the times, different from the situation in 1947, when President Harry Truman launched his doctrine of "halting communism," which "threatened the security of the United States."

Together with the "cold war," we have experienced an era of ideas to "liberate" us, an era of subversion. During the period of detente at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies, we harbored illusions about fruitful economic cooperation and credits from the West. Instead, we were subjected to the doctrine of "linkage," [English word given], "conditional connections," and, finally, restrictions, threats, and blackmail.

Are we to be subject to new conditions, wrapped up like a "new Marshall Plan"? This would be idiocy, bordering on insanity!

When we say that there is no return to the old management methods nor to the chaos at the beginning of the eighties, we do not have in mind just foreign relations and our domestic processes of democratization and reform. We also have in mind our Polish raison d'etat, which is based on permanent alliances and on cooperation with the Soviet Union, the remaining socialist countries, and all countries desirous of peace and equal security.

However, we will never let our vital Polish interests be used against us, especially now that we are openly speaking of the need to expand economic and other forms of international cooperation, and when we would like to take advantage of various forms of credits, joint ventures, and Western markets. But we will never extend our hand to receive alms, which would undermine Poland politically. This we will not do for the sake of our sovereignty and raison d'etat. This must be clear to anyone who drafts "new politics vis-a-vis Poland" today.

At a time of real and increasingly broader connections brought about by civilization and the accessibility of the farthest corners of the world, we are not aiming at self-isolation. We want to take part in the world's peaceful development, which we have proved many times. We want to take part in eliminating tension and building a quiet European home, big enough for everyone, but we want to achieve this via a mutual respect for the differences existing between states and peoples. Those who make "plans" for Poland should remember this and free themselves of all illusion. They should remember that "Poland for the Poles" is our common duty, not someone else's business.

'Terrorist' Leader Gives Press Conference

LD2505190888 Warsaw PAP in English
1801 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—The British agency REUTER and the U.S. station Radio Free Europe broadcast to Poland and worldwide their reports from a press conference by leader of an illegal organization which calls itself the "Fighting Solidarity" Kornel Morawiecki, which was held in London May 24.

As we have previously reported Morawiecki was arrested for collecting terrorist equipment shipped from abroad, among other counts. He would face prosecution in Poland. He had been released from arrest for humanitarian reasons to patch up his health at a moment when attempts were made to spark off strike conflicts in Poland.

Having arrived in Rome, he frankly told the Voice of America in an interview on May 3, that he wanted to get back to Poland in order to "have all large plants go on strike and support the main social and political demands."

We know that not only Morawiecki overestimated his abilities and this is why we have had, instead of a strike at home, yesterday's press conference of Morawiecki in London. Here too he did not conceal his aims: "We want to overthrow communism not only in Poland but also in the Soviet Union and other European states." REUTER

completes the information that the purpose of Morawiecki's stay in the West is raising funds and winning political support in the United Kingdom, United States, and France.

By the way, it is interesting what would be the attitude of Western mass media towards a press conference of any of the IRA military wing leaders, especially if such a conference were held in some of the capitals maintaining normal inter-state relations with London.

SED Central Committee Delegation Arrives

LD2305211988 Warsaw PAP in English
1825 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—A delegation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) led by the deputy head of the agricultural department, Heinz Drescher arrived in Poland today.

Also today members of the delegation were received by alternate Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek. The meeting was attended by head of the PUWP CC agricultural department Kazimierz Grzesiak.

Bangladeshi Foreign Minister Visits

Meets Orzechowski

LD2005213388 Warsaw PAP in English
1427 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 20—Bangladeshi Foreign Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury, now on an official visit to Poland, held on Friday numerous talks with Polish figures.

This morning the Bangladeshi minister met with Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski. Next plenary talks were held under the co-chairmanship of both ministers.

While discussing bilateral issues, the two pointed to still potential cooperation possibilities, the foreign ministry spokesman said. In the political sphere, this refers to the need of maintaining permament interstate contacts at the level of diplomacy chiefs and consultations held by deputy foreign ministers. The sides also considered the possibility of raising the current dialogue at a higher level.

In the economic domain, the two decided to counteract downward trends in trade turnover, recorded in recent years, through the tightening of cooperation in industry and shipping among other ventures.

Speaking about international issues, Chowdhury presented his country's stand on the situation in South Asia and in the Pacific region. The Polish side focused on European issues, with special regard to the problems of security, cooperation and peace initiatives.

In this context the Bangladeshi minister spoke with much respect about the Jaruzelski Plan and briefed the Polish side on the assumptions and results of a seminar devoted to the plan which had been held in Dhaka. He stressed that the progressive rapprochement on the East-West line should be treated as the beginning of a broader detente process which is awaited also in Bangladesh.

Today the Bangladeshi foreign minister paid a visit to Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, who briefed him on the role of the Polish parliament in the process of democratization of life and reforming the economy in the country.

Speaking about international contacts of parliaments of various states, the two stressed their importance for the development and deepening of cooperation in all domains.

Chowdhury told Malinowski that the president of the Bangladeshi parliament expected an official visit of a Sejm delegation.

The meeting was attended by Ambassador of Bangladesh to Poland Kalequzzaman Chowdhury.

Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received Minister Chowdhury to exchange views on bilateral relations with special regard to economic, scientific and technological cooperation. The two pointed to possibilities of cooperation in mining, the power industry, railway and road transport as well as small-scale production and craft. They positively assessed cooperation in shipping and education of Bangladeshi personnels in Poland.

At a meeting with Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda the sides reviewed the whole of economic relations between Poland and Bangladesh, noting with satisfaction a recent increase in trade turnover.

At the same time they stated that the volume of trade and the state of cooperation in other economic domains did not correspond to both countries' possibilities and interests. Thus, views were exchanged on the use of mechanisms conducive to intensification and enrichment of forms of economic cooperation between Poland and Bangladesh.

Tonight Minister Chowdhury met with newsmen and answered their questions on his country's internal situation and foreign policy. In reply to one of the questions he referred to the started pull-out of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and termed it a very important and positive move.

Meets Jaruzelski

LD2005213888 Warsaw PAP in English
1825 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 20—President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received on May 20 foreign minister of Bangladesh Humayun Rashid Chowdhury, now on an official visit to Poland.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister conveyed to Jaruzelski a message from President Hussain Mohammad Ershad, expressing the wish to develop cooperation with Poland and jointly act in the interest of maintenance of peace and international security.

Jaruzelski expressed his deep appreciation for the policy of the non-aligned states movement and underlined Poland's interest in traditionally friendly cooperation with developing countries.

The sides confirmed both states' political will to undertake concrete activities for the expansion of bilateral relations, including mutually advantageous economic cooperation and trade.

The meeting was attended by Polish foreign minister Marian Orzechoswki. Present was Bangladesh Ambassador to this country Kalequzzaman Chowdhury.

Delegation Holds Talks

BK2105023888 Dhaka Domestic Service in English
0110 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Bangladesh and Poland have decided to hold dialogues at regular intervals to foster their economic cooperation. The decision was taken at a meeting between the foreign ministers of the two countries in Warsaw yesterday. The talks lasting for over 2 hours were marked by great deal of understanding and cordiality. Foreign Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury led the Bangladesh delegation to the talks. The Polish team was headed by the Foreign Minister Prof Marian Orzechowski.

Official sources said that the two countries held wide-ranging talks on bilateral and international issues and pledged to deepen their ties in different fields. The two foreign ministers discussed trade, joint ventures and other forms of economic cooperation. They also pledged to work (?constantly) for promotion of world peace and stability. Both sides described the talks as positive.

Minister Ends Visit

LD2205204188 Warsaw PAP in English
1838 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Humayum Rashid Chowdhury wound up his official visit to Poland today.

Yesterday, on Saturday, the head of Bangladeshi diplomacy visited the Royal Castle of Warsaw, and next left for Krakow where saw the state art collection at the Wawel Castle as well as the Sukennice Cloth Halls and St Mary Church.

Today, on Sunday, the Bangladeshi guest visited the grounds of the former Nazi mass extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Replying to a question about the visit's course and results, Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski told PAP:

In the course of their talks at the Foreign Ministry here, Ministers Orzechowski and Chowdhury reviewed the state of bilateral relations and discussed key international and regional problems. They assessed positively the political dialogue and declared themselves in favour of its continuation.

At the same time, they pointed to the need to elevate economic cooperation and trade exchange to a higher level under the principle of mutual benefit.

Minister Marian Orzechowski acquainted his Bangladeshi counterpart with main guidelines of Poland's foreign policy and with Polish peace and disarmament initiatives.

The Polish foreign minister emphasized the irreversibility of political and territorial realities of Europe as a condition of preservation of peace.

Minister Chowdhury presented his evaluation of the situation on the Asian continent, and in South Asia in particular, and underscored the will of the Bangladeshi Government to contribute to its improvement through solving local hotbeds of conflicts by peaceful means.

The Bangladeshi foreign minister lent his support to the Polish initiative to reduce armaments and increase confidence in Central Europe known as the Jaruzelski Plan. Both ministers voiced their support for the Soviet-American treaty on elimination of intermediate nuclear missiles and expressed a hope that an agreement would be endorsed on 50-per-cent reduction of strategic weaponry.

They also supported the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan the implementation of which should encourage peaceful settlement of other regional conflicts.

Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury invited Minister Marian Orzechowski to pay a visit to Bangladesh.

Hungary Reports Romanian Resale of Heavy Water

AU2505153388 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 May 88 p 2

[AFP report: "Mellor Does Not Accept Invitation From Bucharest—Did Romania Transfer Heavy Water Bought From Norway to Israel?"]

[Text] London—David Mellor, UK secretary of state for foreign affairs, will not accept his invitation to Romania—said a UK Foreign Ministry spokesman on 19 May. Mellor received the invitation on 17 May, but did not answer it officially.

The justification of the UK side for this decision is that there has been no improvement in Romania in the area of observing human rights. Among other things, London has reservations concerning Romanian restrictions on travel which have been implemented in cases of mixed Romanian-UK marriages. Great Britain also resented that a congratulatory telegram was printed in the Romanian weekly LUMEA in January, a telegram which, according to LUMEA, had been sent by Queen Elizabeth II on the occasion of Nicolae Ceausescu's 70th birthday, but which was, in fact, a forgery. The UK Foreign Ministry stated then that "the congratulations are a forgery, and their publication is an offense against the sovereign."

The Norwegian Government will initiate an inquiry to find out whether Romania sold to Israel 12.5 tonnes of heavy water bought from Norway, it was announced at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 19 May.

According to press reports, Romania resold heavy water it had bought from Norway to Israel, an act which is forbidden by the Norwegian-Romanian agreement on exporting heavy water. Heavy water is used to slow down neutrons which are created in the course of the splitting of atoms in nuclear power plants, reported DPA.

It was also announced at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the IAEA in Vienna will also open an inquiry.

[Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 19 May on page 2 carries the last three paragraphs of the above item as a separate item under the headline: "Norwegian Inquiry Into Prohibited Exports of Heavy Water." The attribution to DPA is provided at the end of the item.]

Hungary Reports Denial of Resale

LD2505143788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] There has been an official denial in Bucharest that Romania passed to Israel the heavy water it bought from Norway. The denial has described the Western allegations relating to this as untrue. Last week the Norwegian Foreign Ministry indicated that an investigation would be launched to discover whether Romania had not resold to Israel the heavy water used in nuclear power plants. It was said in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry that the IAEA would launch an investigation in connection with the affair.

SCINTEIA Rejects 'Export of Revolution'

AU2505122188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0948 GMT 25 May 88

["Free, Independent Development—A Primordial Requisite of the Present-Day Life"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/5/1988—Profoundly attached to the idea of independence, Romania has steadily and firmly advocated the strict observance of the peoples' right to decide free and sovereign on their development path, writes daily SCINTEIA of May 25 in a commentary highlighting the significance of the current international issues enlarged upon in the exposition of the RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP. Developments in some countries that have lived or live the drama of fratricidal wars, the daily mentions, demonstrate powerfully the topical character of the Marxist thesis affirmed by the Romanian head of state on the inadmissibility of the export of both revolution and contrarevolution.

Highlighting the antinomy between solidarity and military intervention, the commentary shows that as seen by Romania, solidarity finds multiple forms—on a political, diplomatic, material and moral level—but by no means does it signify recourse to expeditionary corps that should pursue "substituting" the revolutionary action of the respective people, of its advanced forces. Socialism cannot be brought from the outside and imposed by the force of weapons. If one may speak of a certain "revolutionary export" this could only be the "export" of revolutionary ideas that come and go free, knowing no frontiers, influenced by the mobilizing and dynamizing capability of the concrete achievements of the countries committed to building the new system.

Referring to the RCP steadfast position of categorically rejecting the export of contrarevolution, that has always meant an attempt at the peoples' will of freedom, an expression of the policy of strength and domineering, a materialization of the concept about the role of international "gendarme", the daily shows that this cannot halt but only slow down, the revolutionary process, generating thus a still more powerful reaction from the advanced forces in the respective country. The export of revolution, just like the export of contrarevolution, the daily goes on, no matter their form, are attacks at the principles of international law that should govern interstate relations. How can one speak of independence and sovereignty, of equality when a state tries to impose upon other state the form of social organization, about non-interference in internal affairs when one resorts to expeditionary corps of intervention, by no matter what pretext, the daily wonders.

The observance of every people's right to free and independent development, the definite cessation of any interference in the domestic affairs of others, of military interventions are an essential requisite of peace, SCINTEIA stresses in conclusion.

Ceausescu Continues Visit to Vilcea County

To Visit Farms, Industry

AU2405183288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/5/1988—The RCP general secretary, President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Vilcea County (southern Romania) on 24 May.

Accompanying them are Emil Bobu and Silviu Curticeanu.

The visit is an opportunity to analyze the way in which steps are taken in industrial and farming units in the county, in other sectors to fulfill the plan tasks for this year and the whole five-year plan period.

Two of the seven enterprises of national interest in the town of Dragasani were visited, as well as a producer cooperative farm.

Continuing their visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu arrived in the county seat—Rimnicu Vilcea.

They met with the Bureau of the Vilcea County RCP Committee.

The working visit continues.

Visits Chemical Combine

AU2505155088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1513 GMT 25 May 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Vilcea County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/05/1988—On Wednesday, May 25, RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Madame Elena Ceausescu continued their working visit to Vilcea County. In the morning they visited the chemical combine in Rimnicu Vilcea, the county seat, a unit which has powerfully developed and an analysis was made, together with the executives and experts there, of some aspects of the activity of the soda products combine at Govora, of the chemists' concerns for the utilization at best parametres of the existing units, for the better capitalization of raw materials, for the further increase of exports, of economic efficiency.

The visit continued on the industrial site in Rimnicu Vilcea to the chemical equipment and forging enterprise, a modern unity of the Romanian machine building industry, and to the unwoven textiles enterprise, where analysis was made of the aspects related to the capitalization of textile, reusable materials and to their reintroduction into the productive circuit on the basis of original technologies.

At the end of the working visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Madame Elena Ceausescu took part in a big civic rally held in Rimnicu Vilcea Municipality.

During the rally President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech.

Speaks at Rally

AU2505094588 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0840 GMT 25 May 88

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Rimnicu Vilcea on his working visit to Vilcea County on 25 May—live]

[Text] Dear comrades, I take great pleasure in meeting again with the working people of Rimnicu Vilcea Municipality and Vilcea county and extending to you and all the inhabitants of the county warm communist greetings and best wishes for success in all activity. [cheers, chants]

We are paying a working visit to Vilcea County. We want to become directly acquainted with the way in which the party organizations, the working people's councils, and all working people—the peasantry, intellectuals, and all Vilcea's citizens—are working to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the December 1987 National Conference. To begin with, I would like to say that, generally speaking, we have gained good impressions from our visit. [cheers, chants]

We visited several industrial enterprises in Rimnicu Vilcea and Dragasani and an agricultural cooperative farm, whose chairman also addressed this rally. In general, we were able to take a look at the state of the crops in Vilcea County.

In the enterprises visited, we took note, with great satisfaction, of the achievements obtained in the current 5-year plan, particularly in the first 4 months of this year, and the overall achievements of the county, which has fulfilled the planned industrial production for the first 4 months with a certain surplus. This means that all working people's collectives have taken firm and resolute steps to commendably fulfill plan tasks.

It is true that there are still certain enterprises that have failed to completely fulfill the plan for the first 4 months. These enterprises have actually consumed, so to speak, the achievements of those enterprises with good results. In spite of all this, countywide results show that the plan has been fulfilled, I repeat, with a certain surplus. If all

enterprises had fulfilled the plan, then this surplus would have been much greater. I hope—as the comrades of the County Party Committee Bureau have pledged to do in yesterday's meeting—that steps will be taken in the coming months to ensure that all enterprises commendably fulfill plan tasks. I would like to congratulate both the working people's collectives we visited these days and all working people's collectives from the entire industry and other sectors of activity in Vilcea. In addition, I wish them to work in such a way as to fulfill all plan tasks this year and to even achieve an ever greater surplus. [cheers, chants]

In the Orlesti agricultural production cooperative, we noted with great satisfaction that the crops of wheat and barley are doing fine and that conditions exist for the respective cooperative farm to win the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution for both crops. This means, 9,000 kg barley per hectare and more than 8,000 kg wheat per hectare. [cheers, chants]

The other crops are at an initial stage. However, all conditions exist for good results to be obtained both at corn and all other spring crops. I also saw, in passing, other crops of wheat and barley, which were as good as the ones I visited, if not even better. Therefore, there are all prerequisites for the Vilcea County agriculture to obtain record crops this year and thus join the front-ranking counties in agriculture, as well. [cheers, chants]

I would like to congratulate all working people in agriculture and the entire peasantry of Vilcea County for results scored thus far,and I wish them to obtain ever better crops this year, which should enable the county—and I would welcome it—to win the title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. [cheers, chants]

In all the industrial and agricultural units visited, I noted a concern with implementing modernization programs and resolutely applying the achievements of modern science and technology in all spheres of activity. Both at the chemical plant and at the heavy equipment enterprise, I noted a concern with taking new steps to promote research and modernize production. This is a decisive element of commendably fulfilling the plan for this year and the entire 5-year plan. As a matter of fact, I should emphasize that the results obtained thus far in Vilcea and throughout the country are directly linked to efforts to firmly apply scientific-technological achievements, develop education and culture, and raise the overall level of technological, professional, and cultural training of all working people and the entire nation, since, in the last instance, it is the working people and all our people—conscious builders of socialism, of our bright future, and of communism—who are the decisive factors and the creators of socialism and of everything we have achieved in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Last winter we marked the 20th anniversary of the territorial-administrative reorganization, the creation of counties, and the better planning of localities. One can say that this reorganization facilitated a greater development of all areas and counties in our fatherland and allowed us to proceed to better distribution of the forces of production, industry, and other activities and to appropriately develop the agricultural sector. All this has ensured the overall progress of all counties and localities in our fatherland.

Even your county has registered a strong development and a 15-fold increase in production. We set up large combines and enterprises, strongly developed agriculture and education, and built dwellings and other social and cultural establishments. One can actually say that Rimnicu Vilcea itself is practically a new city, which, like other localities, ensures ever better living conditions for all citizens in this municipality. The same applies to other cities, which ensure ever better living conditions for all our fatherland's citizens. [cheers, chants]

Generally speaking, in the past 4 months we have scored nationwide results that can be assessed as good in fulfilling plan provisions for this year. Of course, there are still 8 months to go this year, hence, we must work in such a way as to not only preserve the results scored in the first months, but also add something extra to these achievements. By the end of the year, we should have fulfilled all plan provisions and scored good results in all fields. Let us take resolute steps to firmly implement modernization programs and other programs for better economic-financial organization, apply the new economic mechanism, increase labor productivity, and raise the quality and technological level of production in all fields of activity.

We have obtained wonderful achievements in the years of socialist construction and wonderful results since the Ninth RCP Congress. This proves that only socialism can enable the nations who have suffered oppression to build a new, free, happy, and independent life for themselves. [cheers, chants]

The Communists have always put complete trust in the creative force of the people and have acted to eliminate the old system based on inequalities and exploitation. Once the people's power was established and the people have become masters of their destiny, the party has assumed the responsibility of guiding the entire nation along the road of fashioning a new life, which can guarantee well-being and happiness for the entire nation. As a matter of fact, the supreme goal of our party policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania is the well-being, happiness, and independence of the people. [cheers, chants]

We have a wonderful program for our fatherland's further development up to 1990 and the year 2000. Everything we have achieved is a guarantee of the fact that we will implement these plans and programs for raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization. Of course, we should work better. We know

that we have had various shortcomings and also made mistakes—I have said that often enough. We could have obtained better results if some of these mistakes had not been made. However, what we have achieved with the joint work of the entire nation just proves the strength of a people who have become master of their destiny and true master in their country and who are firmly marching forward toward building a society in which man becomes truly free, both from a material and cultural viewpoint. This man will develop into the man of the communist society, in which people will be truly free and will continue to ensure, in a spirit of full unity, our progress toward new and higher peaks, while rejecting and never again permitting the return of exploitation, oppression, and inequality. [cheers, chants]

To come back to Vilcea County and Rimnicu Vilcea Municipality, I would like to emphasize again the need for the party organizations, for the county committee and the county party bureau—as I said at last night's meeting—for all working people's collectives, management councils, and general meetings in enterprises, cooperative and state farms, and for all the county's citizens to become more resolutely involved in unflinchingly implementing the programs for the county's development and prosperity, as an important part of the program for the fatherland's overall development. I have known Vilcea County since as far back as 1935. I know what Vilcea County, Dragasani, and many other communes and localities in this county looked like in those days. Our party and its youth organizations were operating underground. But even then, we discussed ways and means to rebuild and modernize Rimnicu Vilcea and other towns and villages in this county. I saw Vilcea immediately after liberation, in 1946. The older ones among you know what the county was like then and what kind of industry it had. Therefore, everything we have achieved in Vilcea and throughout the country is proof of the creative capacity of the working people in Vilcea and of all our people. It is proof of the fact that what we plan to achieve in the next years will come to pass. We have a strong technical base, which is much stronger than the one we started with in 1945 and the one that existed in 1965. With this material and scientific base, but particularly with our people, who have high professional and technical training and a high socialist and revolutionary awareness—together with whom we have achieved all these things that everybody can see and that we are so proud of—we are sure that we will commendably fulfill the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism. [cheers, chants]

All these achievements required both material and human efforts. For years on end, we had to allocate more than a third of the national income to development. We will continue to do this in the future, too. However, on this basis, we have developed the country, raised the level of civilization and the material and intellectual standard of living of the people, and turned Romania into an industrial-agrarian country organized on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology in all fields. [cheers, chants]

We have a broad democratic leadership system in all spheres of activity. All bodies of the revolutionary workers democracy, the working people's councils, and the general meetings from all spheres of activity—industry, agriculture, science, and culture—should strive to fulfill their important role in running all fields of activity and strengthening the spirit of responsibility, discipline, and order. These are a prerequisite for the proper functioning of each unit and for the fulfillment of our programs on the fatherland's overall development. [cheers, chants]

We met with many pupils and could see the joy in their eyes. I know that right now they are concerned with obtaining ever better end-of-school-year marks and results. Of course, these will be the results of the entire year of studies. At this big mass rally, I would like to mention our modern education system, which ensures an ever higher level of knowledge in all spheres for all children and young people in our country. Our fatherland's future depends on raising the overall level of education and culture and ensuring increasingly better all-round training for all children and the young generation of our fatherland, including, of course, those in Vilcea. Only thus will they be able to commendably fulfill their role in society, production, and all fields of activity and ensure the continuous development of our fatherland toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization. I wish to extend to the children, pupils, and young people of Vilcea and the entire country success at learning and in life. May they grow up in dignity and master the latest knowledge, so as to become good citizens of Socialist Romania. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in order to fulfill all programs for the further development of our fatherland, we need peace and cooperation with all nations and peoples in the world, regardless of social system. Proceeding from this and from the fact that our people have always wanted peace and equal cooperation among all nations, our party and state are taking most resolute steps to contribute to solving the serious international problems in a new way, which can put an end to the old policy of domination and oppression, to wars, and to the arms race and which can ensure peace and the right of each people to free and independent development, in accordance with the wishes of each nation. [cheers, chants]

In this spirit, we firmly advocate a halt to the arms race, to nuclear, chemical, and conventional arming. In addition, we favor a move to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, considering that the use of nuclear weapons, wherever this may be, influences the life of all the world's nations and threatens the very existence of life on our planet This is why we are firmly in favor of proceeding to a nuclear disarmament program in several stages up to the year 2000 and of halting nuclear testing. We believe that it is necessary for the Soviet Union and

the United States of America to achieve agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear weapons as soon as possible, and to conclude an agreement on a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons, this being an important step in the direction of a general program for eliminating all nuclear weapons. Only in this way will humanity have a secure existence and peace be safeguarded. [applause, chants]

Romania believes that it is necessary to begin negotiations as soon as possible on achieving an agreement on reducing conventional weapons—in the first stage by 20 percent—and then to achieve an at least 50-percent reduction in these weapons by the year 2000.

At the same time, military expenditures must be cut because they have reached an astronomical figure of more than $1 trillion. The means resulting from these cuts should be used for the socioeconomic development of each country, while another part should be used for the development of developing countries. This is in order to enable the developing countries, in particular, to overcome their serious economic problems.

We believe that it is necessary for us to do all we can so that new measures for disarmament, trust, and cooperation will be achieved in Europe in order to achieve a united Europe of all nations, irrespective of social system, proceeding from the respect of each European people's right to choose the system it desires. [cheers, chants]

We favor the achievement of increasingly better cooperation in the Balkans, and we want our region to turn into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign military bases. At the same time, we believe that everything must be done to solve disputes, to put an end to existing conflicts, and to solve problems solely by talks and negotiations. In this spirit, from this big mass rally in Rimnicu Vilcea, too, I want to reaffirm the need to organize an international conference on the Middle East in order to achieve a political solution and to ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to create their own independent state. [applause, cheers]

There are numerous serious problems. There are still peoples who are under colonial domination. As it did in the past, Romania expresses its complete solidarity with the national liberation struggle and is granting and will continue to grant complete support to the peoples in their struggle for independence, to be the full masters of their destiny, and to halt any kind of interference in their domestic affairs. [applause, cheers, chants]

A very serious situation has arisen in the world economy. The situation of the developing countries has especially deteriorated. Therefore, our country expresses its full solidarity and works together with the developing countries to seek a general solution to the problems of underdevelopment, including the problem of foreign debts of the developing countries, and to achieve a new international economic order that will ensure the progress of all nations in the world, especially the progress of the developing countries. There is a close dialectical unity between peace and development, and only together, by solving both problems, will we be able to ensure the progress of mankind, and the independence and well-being of each nation. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, however, there are numerous serious problems of a social nature in the world that have to be solved—this being a vital requirement for the future of humanity—the problem of unemployment, the problem of unemployment among young people. There are countries in which almost 50 percent of young people do not have a job. Many students who graduate from schools have no secure workplace. There are numerous such problems with a negative bearing on the frame of mind of people, of young people who do not see any prospects ahead of themselves. Therefore, within the Vienna conference, Romania will raise certain problems so that they are solved by proceeding from the desire to develop trust, friendship, and cooperation with all the nations on our continent, and so that the whole of the European Continent, that has given a great deal to civilization, will be able to guarantee increasingly better living conditions for young people and citizens today, because this must be the ultimate and supreme goal of the activity of all states and of all politicians who desire the well-being and happiness of peoples. [cheers, chants]

As far as we are concerned, we want to do all we can, as we have done so far, to guarantee a job for each citizen in our homeland; to guarantee young people not only their education, not only a high standard of culture, but also jobs, so that they can capitalize on their creative capabilities. Only in this way will socialism demonstrate its strength and capability. And I can assure you, dear comrades in Vilcea, and I can assure our whole nation that we will spare no effort and will always bear in mind that what we are doing will serve our people and will guarantee their working and living conditions and an active participation in all sociopolitical activities as the true owners of Romanian socialist society. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, in conclusion, I would once again like to express our satisfaction with the meetings with the working people's collectives, with the citizens in Vilcea and Rimnicu Vilcea, with the party and state aktiv, and with thousands and tens of thousands of working people—men, women, young people, children, and old people.

We have gained exceptionally good impressions about what we have seen. Therefore, we are confident that the working people in Vilcea and all citizens, under the leadership of the closely united party organizations, will achieve increasingly better results in all their activities this year and in years to come. The way we were welcomed everywhere is an expression of the dedication

to and trust in the policy of our Communist Party, in the correctness of socialist construction, and trust in socialism, and in the fact that the people [Ceausescu corrects himself] and it is an expression of the trust and determination to work, so that we will implement the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, and to guarantee Romania a more and more dignified place in the world, an increasingly dignified, free, and independent place of well-being and happiness. [cheers, chants]

There are many months left of the current year. We have to work better, with greater determination and vigor to hold one of the best places in the great socialist competition between counties and between various sectors of activity. It depends on all working people's collectives, but it also depends on the activity of the county party committee, of the county bureau, and the working people's council, so that Vilcea may hold one of the best places in industry, agriculture, and in other sectors, and if possible hold a first-ranking place. I would welcome it if you were among the front rankers, and it would give me special pleasure if you ranked first in both agriculture and industry. I wish you success. [cheers, chants]

Once again, dear comrades, I wish you the greatest of successes and satisfaction, and I wish you much good health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Ceausescu Pays Visit to Harghita County

Begins Working Visit

AU2505185188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 25 May 88

[President Nicolae Ceausescu Pays a Working Visit to Harghita County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/05/1988—In the afternoon of 25 May, RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Harghita County. This county, which lies in the central part of Romania, scored one of the highest growth rate in the country in the twenty years elapsed since the new admnistrative and territorial reorganization of the country, its gross production increasing over seven times. At present the county turns out the entire production of 1968 in less than two month.

The visit started in Odorheiul Secuiesc Municipality where a mould and pig iron parts manufacturing enterprise and a unit producing equipment for the food industry were seen round.

During the visit to the two enterprises President Nicolae Ceausescu discussed with groups of workers, inquiring about the conditions in which they carry on their activity, about their results, wishing them to further score ever better achievements. Driving along the streets of the town, the RCP and Romanian state leader was warmly greeted by thousands of citizens of all ages.

Before leaving the municipality President Nicolae Ceausescu congratulated all the inhabitants of Odorheiul Secuiesc on the achievements scored in industry, in developing their town. This development, he stressed, is an outcome of the just policy of our party of balanced, harmonious development of all the country's counties, of powerful growth of industry, agriculture, of the other sectors, as this is the only way of ensuring a genuine equality in work and life to all the citizens of the homeland. We will continue to develop all counties to provide equal working and living conditions in all the localities of the country, this being a requirement of socialism which calls for all the working people in Odorheiul Secuiesc to make an ever greater contribution to the implementation of the programmes for the economic and social development of our socialist homeland. The producer cooperative farm in Sinmartin was visited next.

In the evening President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu arrived in Miercurea-Ciuc where they met with the members of the Bureau of the Harghita County RCP Committe.

The visit to Harghita County continues on Thursday, 26 May.

Meets With County RCP Bureau

AU2605073388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0710 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/5/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mme Elena Ceausescu met with the members of the Bureau of the Harghita County Committee of the RCP, on May 25 in the evening.

During the meeting, they continued the analysis conducted in the afternoon in industrial and farm units, establishing concrete ways and means for the fulfilment in proper conditions of the important tasks devolving on Harghita County from the plan for 1988 and for the whole five-year period from the documents of the National Conference and of the 13th Congress of the RCP.

Starting from the accounts presented by the members of the bureau, from the results scored and the findings during the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the county party organization, the Communists, all working people, drawing the necessary conclusions from the shortcomings found, established concrete measures and worked for the liquidation of the negative states of affairs, for the fulfilment in proper conditions of the plan tasks, for the improvement of the activity in all domains.

The RCP general secretary stressed that although industrial production went up, it was still below material and human possibilities of the county.

As for agriculture, that evinced serious shortcomings last year, especially in animal-breeding, it was assessed that there too, steps were taken for recovery and for the fulfilment of the programs of increasing the livestock and animal productions. It was emphasized that Harghita County has very good conditions for the development of animal-breeding and that the areas meant for ensuring the fodder base had to be turned to advantage and most efficiently employed, so as to get a bigger fodder production.

Likewise, it was shown that the condition of the cultures, their vegetation and the density of the plants guaranteed fine crops for this year.

The RCP general secretary appreciated the preoccupation of the bureau of the county party committee for the establishment of measures and programs for physical planning. Emphasis was also placed on the need for strict observance of the legal provisions regarding the delimitation of the town areas, of the rural localities, for a steadier application of the programs of territorial development, the reduction of the areas where buildings can be emplaced, while securing the reclamation of new lands for agriculture, according to regulations in force.

In connection with the party activity, President Ceausescu stressed that its efficiency had to show in the way of fulfilment of the plan tasks. It was pointed out that more resolute action was needed for the enhancement of the responsibility of the Communists, of the party organizations, for promoting the revolutionary spirit in the fulfilment of all tasks set.

In conclusion, Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the confidence that the powerful county party organization, the Communists, all working people would firmly work for an as thorough as possible organization of production and labour, for still better results in every domain of activity.

MLADINA 'Intended' to Document Rumors

AU2505132288 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No 20 20 May 88 pp 12-15

[Miran Lesjak article: "Night of the Long Knives: Secretive State Toying Dangerously"—boldface as published]

[Text] "In this space and under this title, we intended to publish an article that documented the rumors connected with the danger of solving the Yugoslav political crisis in a undemocratic, repressive, and anticonstitutional way. It is known that conflicts are resolved in a similar way, particularly in some Latin American states.

"On Tuesday, 10 May, when the entire issue had been printed, the editorial board was informed that, in its present form, the article disclosed state secrets. Because of the danger of confiscation, because of the pressure exerted, and because of an assurance that the question would be answered in an appropriate way, the editorial board stopped the binding of the issue and withdrew the disputed article. The editorial board is determined to write again on the 'Polish syndrome' in Yugoslavia."

State Secret [subhead]

The passage quoted above was published by the editorial board in the preceding issue of MLADINA, issue No 19, [Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No 19, 13 May 88 p 48], and it explained in this way why Issue No 19 had appeared on the streets of Ljubljana 1 day late. Belgrade POLITIKA—which on Friday, 13 May (which is to say a day after MLADINA had appeared with the editorial explanation), published a short report alleging that the MLADINA distributors' statement about a threat of confiscation was just another of their propaganda tricks—now cannot do anything but reject the insinuation by its Ljubljana correspondents, who otherwise are well informed, and publish the real reason for the delay in the publication of our magazine.

The publication of a half-page article containing a document, in which one can perceive a plan for the introduction of anticonstitutional, undemocratic, and repressive measures, especially in Slovenia, was prevented by a telex instruction received from the federal capital. This telex message put a new obstacle in the way of Yugoslav press freedom, an obstacle that in contrast to the earlier ones is quite legal and legitimate: disclosure of state secrets. Pressed by time and by eloquent threats to the editorial board, it was not possible to ponder on the conceptual content of the syntagma "state secret," its legal regulation and legal interpretation, and the question of whether or not the session of a party (which is to say nonstate) organ may be wrapped in the cloak of a calculated, tactical, and jealous protection of state values. Anyhow, the application of the state secret ploy deprived the judiciary of a rare opportunity to ban, with good arguments, the causing of alarm among the domestic and international public. In the case in point, the problem does not lie (primarily) in legal norms, which in one way or another impose obligations (and restrictions) on the public media; the problem lies in rumors about putsch intentions by a part of the authorities that are only confirmed by the state secret umbrella unfolded over them. Precisely because of this umbrella, the writer of this article must take a roundabout way, when the road is in fact straight.

Call to Intervention [subhead]

Speculations, closely followed by assertions, about the power and the autonomous political position of the Army have been present in public for a long time. Self-satisfied rejection of a public dialogue about the Army, its financing, and its development concepts and projects has supported in these speculations (they have been speculations because, apart from vague suspicions and indications, the doubters and their opponents possessed, no material evidence for or against them) those who asserted that a part of the Army command has escaped social and political control. The extent which such irresponsible ignorance by a part of the people's Army command can reach was recently displayed by

Brovet [Rear Admiral Stane Brovet, under secretary for national defense], who in the Assembly Committee for National Defense said that "some questions classified as a 'military secret' are not of the kind that could interest a working man, as for instance technical, tactical, and other data on a new airplane, the development plans and equipment of the Armed Forces, organizational changes, assessments of the moral-political situation and the like." It is possible to understand that a military ear in the "barracks square" receives legitimate civilian questions in a different way from that intended by those who pose them. It is also possible to accept that the view of Yugoslav industry and its capabilities from the barracks wall differs from the view by a worker in Iskra Telematika, TAM, or Feni, but it is beyond comprehension that legitimate civilian questions and doubts are linked with service in counterrevolutionary activities.

The first remarks about the increased presence of the Army in political life could be noticed in commentaries relating to the latest party congress. However, in the political "excesses" that followed the congress from time to time in the past 2 years, the Army increasingly became one of the fundamental pillars of self-managing socialist society, and, in addition to the Youth Relay Race, one of the "axes of the Yugoslav spirit." At the focus of the increasingly prominent equations between the supposed attacks on the Army and

— the attacks on the SFRY (Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, DELO 26 February 1988),

— attacks directed against the values of our society (LCY Central Committee Presidium, DELO 11 March 1988),

— attacks on the LC, its ideology and role in society (Zdravko Mustac, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, DELO 30 March 1988),

— and general attacks on self-management and socialism (Stane Brovet, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense),

the Armed Force cannot be immanently recognized as one that initiates [mediator] political actions, responsibility, and ideopolitical differentiation, but it is called on by the Constitution to protect "the social system of the SFRY set by this Constitution" (Article 240 of the SFRY Constitution) against the anticonstitutional fabrication of the federal party Presidium. The said constitutional provision, based on an earlier fabricated campaign against counterrevolutionary deviations in the northern regions of the country, thus allows the supposed accused to become the accuser and judge in his own case, with the blessing of the forums and the support of the media. The alarming warnings about a counterrevolution, sounded by the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 10 March, therefore, were nothing but a covert call for intervention by the non-political and non-civilian factor.

In one of its regular supplements, MLADINA has presented the offensive that is at times antidemocratic and at times anti-Slovene with cullings from the Yugoslav press. Let us cite some more "pre-putsch" articles, along with the intolerant and threatening statements by political and state organs and individuals mentioned above. Their verbal offensive culminated, immediately before the fateful Belgrade session, in articles demonstrating the identity of views between a part of the youth press and political emigres.

NARODNA ARMIJA, as if anticipating the March events, wrote on 18 February as follows:

"The black MLADINA description of the situation in the country extends to seeing the Army as a perpetrator of a military coup, which would obtain the support of Serbian nationalists and would force Slovenia and Croatia to secede.... The generals will abolish democracy: They will arrest, torture, shoot, judge, and hang.... Is it not time to say, at least to the leading MLADINA man, in his own words: Go home!?"

A week later, the federal Youth Presidium shot off a cannonade of accusations and—it appears—whether it wanted to or not, provoked an OSLOBODJENJE journalist to the following statement:

"MLADINA shoots off bursts of fire at the Yugoslav People's Army. The Army keeps silent and absorbs punishment. Does this mean that the Army that never lost a war (it fought one war and it won once) will be defeated this time? Or does it simply keep silent and not want to fire at the press because it is one of the rare European armies—some say the only one—that never turned its guns against its own people?" (OSLOBODJENJE 17 February 1988).

General Simovic in a New Edition [subhead]

Rumors that spread through the Belgrade dissident circles warned a few weeks later that after the 10 March session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its pogrom-like announcement, the situation was changing with or without the knowledge of the highest collective party leadership. Rumors that arrests of Belgrade political opponents would shortly take place according to a list, could be dismissed as effects of special military power [ucinki specialne vojne oblasti] until warnings about an uncertain situation and an unclear relationship of powers began to be spread among the LC communal committees in Slovenia. Announcements that Assembly Committees for National Defense and Internal Policy, and the Commission for Controlling the Work of the State Security Service, would meet, however, indicated that the political situation in the country is getting more complicated than is usual for the occasional scraps among the republican rulers. On 25 March, which is to say 4 days before the session of the Federal Assembly Chambers, the **Military Council** of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense met unannounced, but in a regular session, as it was asserted. TANJUG, which reported on the session, required 2 days to prepare a statement.

Despite all the unknowns connected with the role and position of the Military Council and its March session, it is possible to foresee even now that the session of this body may exert a decisive influence on the situation in the country in the coming months. In comparison with the positions and conclusions, adopted by the abovementioned state and political organs in connection with the "counterrevolution," it is significant that the session of the Military Council defined the aims of "the increasingly frequent attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in the public information media, especially in Slovenia" primarily as **the Army** itself, and not the system and the social values. In the opinion of the defense minister, who chaired the session of the Military Council, the aims of the attacks on the YPA were the following:

1. to compromise the YPA,

2. to compromise the YPA officers cadres and to destroy its unity,

3. to discourage young people from entering the military profession, and

4. to prevent the YPA from cooperating with the armed forces of friendly nonaligned countries and liberation movements and to make it dependent on armaments from one or another military bloc.

Along with the question of why the Military Council session preceded the Federal Assembly, to which it is subordinate, the question also arises of whether at its session the Military Council discussed something else about which TANJUG, in its delayed report, did not tell the public. Is the matter that the Military Council could, it appears, have discussed at the same session cloaked in the veil of state secrecy?

Concerning the apparently important session of the Military Council, it is an unfortunate (and rather telling) fact that the council met on 25 March and that the report on the session was published on 27 March. The days between 25 and 27 March 1941 have a prominent place in Yugoslav history. On 25 March, the Cvetkovic government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact, and on 27 March, after 3 days of extensive antifascist demonstrations, Air Force General **Dusan Simovic** toppled the Cvetkovic government in a coup d'etat. "If the rumors are well founded," the Presidiums of the two Slovene student organizations say in their letter to the republican secretary for internal affairs and the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia, "we may conclude that Slovenia escaped a military coup by a whisker."

What sort of rumors are the students referring to?

The Session That Never Was [subhead]

Before we can answer the above question, we must warn the reader that under the weight of a state secret, the editorial board was forced to withdraw an article that answered the question in a most direct way, with quotations. The question by the two Presidiums of the University Conferences of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia in Maribor and Ljubljana, whether or not the rumors that have been spreading in Slovenia are well-founded, has been indirectly answered by the person who prevented the publication of the MLADINA article "The Night of the Long Knives." As we said, a journalist can only speak in a roundabout way.

The editorial board last week tried in vain to obtain answers from the president and the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to the questions generally asked. It only obtained a statement that essentially differs from the sources at the disposal of the editorial board, and that refers to a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that was or never was. According to data at the disposal of MLADINA, it is possible to determine the exact date of the session of the federal party Presidium about which **nobody knows anything** in the Lenin Boulevard in Belgrade: It was **29 March 1988**. More exactly, according to other [blank space as if a word has been deleted] sources, the said date is only one of the days on which the said body was in session. This is to say that this source asserts that the session lasted several days. Anyhow, one cannot read anything about this session in the daily press. Let us only recall that the last days of March were rather lively. On the same day, which is to say 29 March, Federal Assembly committees were in session, and the Military Council sat 4 days earlier. On 29 March, the republican nomination conference for the mid-term assembly elections was under way in Slovenia, and it selected the candidate for president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia. Issue No 11 of MLADINA had been temporarily confiscated a few days earlier.

As it appears, the enigmatic session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was agreed on in advance. The Slovene political coordinating body [Slovenska politicna koordinacija] reportedly met a few days before the session, and certainly after the session of the Military Council. According to the sources that the editorial board cannot reveal [blank space of almost one line as if words have been deleted], the coordinating body reportedly discussed the political situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia and refuted the allegations about counterrevolutionary activities. Its representative in Belgrade reportedly said that all such and similar assessments were not objective and did not accord with the facts. It seems that at least in this case "the delegate system" did an excellent job.

The Slovene representative reportedly rejected all the political assessments that were based solely on one-sided reports in the public information media. He is also said to have drawn attention to the fact that the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia indeed "denounced the attacks on the YPA," but the press carried distorted reports on this. It was exactly the press that was chiefly to blame for the anti-Slovene feeling in the country. In the opinion of the representative, it was no longer possible to conduct political actions with slogans and unconvincing accusations, particularly not when the country in general and every republic separately were confronting economic and social problems that still leave the party impotent. Differentiation were necessary precisely because of these problems, but this differentiation should be carried out on development questions. Any unjustified anti-Slovene disposition would in the opinion of the Slovene representative trigger off a nationalist, anti-Yugoslav, and even separatist feeling in Slovenia.

What Kind of Organ Is the Military Council?

As it seems, the positions of the Military Council caught the Slovene party by surprise, and its leaders reportedly phoned to Belgrade the day after its session and demanded additional explanation. Considering that individuals in the LCY Central Committee Presidium allegedly assured them that they did not know anything about what the Military Council had had in mind, it was understandable that questions were asked at the 29 March session to the effect of whether or not the Military Council was an independent political organ standing on its own in the state and arrogating the right to analyze and assess the political situation in the country in its own way, without the knowledge of others. It is now also

possible to hear assertions that some people in Slovenia requested a public explanation of the Military Council positions, but their requests were quieted down.

The requests for a public explanation were very much justified if—as MLADINA sources assert—the Military Council or its circles indeed decided that the Ljubljana Army Region Command should contact the Slovene republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in connection with the **activities in Slovenia**. Rumors and documents also indicate what kind of activities should have been planned in the Army circles: **arrests**. Considering that in addition to the analysis of the infamous 200 articles, an analysis of their authors is also said to exist, and considering that it is not too difficult to glean the names that appear most frequently in the media campaign, it is not difficult to guess who would be involved in such activities in Slovenia. The arrest of two or three journalists would probably not cause mass demonstrations, as the scenario envisaged. Mass demonstrations, during which one should guard the barracks, military persons, and the political leadership could be provoked only through mass arrests, but these are only a facet of a situation that is called.... Our sources assert that the foolhardy hellish plan was disclosed and rejected, because of the protests by Slovene representatives, at the LCY Central Committee Presidium session on 29 March this year. It is not known what has been going on in the heads of the chief paranoid strategists after this date. Perhaps the timid Smole's remark at the end of last week that the federal secretary for national defense need not necessarily be a military person is most indicative in this respect. Before the end of March, the Slovene position on this sensitive question was supposedly much more resolute. It is to be hoped that during the May Day holidays, which should have been the last civilian holidays for the time being, the hot heads cooled down. The May Day workers' disorders in Poland showed sufficiently clearly what uniformed authorities can do: nothing. As the federal party session was reportedly warned, international isolation is the mildest consequence of foolhardy saber rattling.

Line of Rejection [subhead]

After an authoritative political personality departed from the Yugoslav political scene, the tense political relations in the country can no longer be solved through cadre moves from time to time and through changing over the ruling teams, but only through a confrontation of the development and political blueprints. In the case that neither of the two disputing sides was able to present development alternatives acceptable to the entire Yugoslav community, because of which the country has been sinking deeper and deeper into an economic and political morass, it was possible to maintain fictitious dialogue positions [dialoske pozicije] and a status quo only by bargaining among the republican oligarchies. The option proposing the necessity of democratization in public life, which is supported by a general social and national consensus, which abolishes the monopoly of power, ideological obscurantism [zakrknjenost] and lack of inventiveness, and political monism, and which is increasingly coming to the fore on the Yugoslav scene, can only be countered with the argument of power that one still posseses at this moment.

The rejection of such militant solutions must be conducted **publicly** and **tolerantly** particularly because their political program and quasi rhetorical justifications are being marketed in legal political organs, among the electoral grass roots, within the hearing of all the Yugoslav public. It is possible that the highest **collective** party leadership did not know about the supposed scenario described above, but it is quite unbelievable that **individual** members of this body were not aware of them. Some of them were invoking "companies of soldiers" years ago [this refers to Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium]. The latest cadre changes in certain federal organs and the warnings one could hear in this connection rather confirm than refute this thesis. They also serve as a warning that the daily press will have to be read more carefully during the summer months this year than it had to be read previously.

'Agressive Message' Noted at Youth Festival

AU2605073188 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 88 p 6

[S. Petrovic report: "Festival of Young Workers Ends in Maribor"]

[Text] Maribor, 22 May—The 21st festival of the work of young people of Yugoslavia ended today in Maribor with the presentation of prizes and awards to the most successful competitors. Almost 2,400 young men and women, mainly from the production sector, from all over Yugoslavia participated. All the participants will have fond memories of this festival because of the perfect organization, the good and warm welcome in this town, and the good times they had together as friends in the 3 days that the festival lasted. However, this will not be the case if some political messages are remembered, which have been expressed by already well-known members of the leadership of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation Republican Conference at every opportunity in the last few years. To be specific, although on this occasion devoted to celebrating Youth Day, Maribor was very richly ornamented and decorated with state, party, and republican flags and banners greeting the guests, it was noticeable that not one single poster dedicated to Youth Day was seen in virtually any public place.

The organizers were responsible for the guests' second unpleasant surprise. In the Tabor great hall during the opening of the festival, seven "body builders" and a smaller and shorter girl stood on eight large pedestals placed in the middle of the hall, which were wrapped all the time in mist, while suitable music played. The special program took place below these pedestals. At the end, the girl was the first to descend from her pedestal, and she

was caught by the young men and dressed in expensive furs. Those present interpreted this as Yugoslavia in times of difficulty being abandoned by one of its republics.

The second aggressive message—as it was later assessed at the round table on the Yugoslav youth press by Zdenko Lovric, the guide for the Brcko team, on his own behalf and on behalf of the team—came from the front page of the special edition of KATEDRA, which was given to guests at the opening of the festival. The front page contains a copy of the front page of the old SLOVENSKI NAROD newspaper [a prewar liberal Slovene daily, its name translates as "The Slovene Nation"] with a very obvious metaphor against a black background to one side: 1920—Carinthia.... 1945—Trieste.... 1988— ?

Many contentious thoughts were expressed at the round table discussion on the youth press which, according to Gorazd Zupanc, member of the Maribor Youth Federation City Committee, are the target for criticism from the official authorities.

Zoran Vasic from the Novi Sad STAV reacted to this. In his opinion, everyone attacks society for its repressive measures, but no one asks themselves why the community has to react in this way.

Talking about the MLADOST publication, Tone Anderlic, president of the Slovene Youth Federation Republican Conference, quite categorically said that this publication was under the influence of the Serbian and Belgrade leaderships and that even the federal authorities influence its editorial policy, as well as bodies in the capital where it is based. As far as the youth press is concerned, the situation is now already significantly more satisfactory in Slovenia, Anderlic added. Once the new law on information has been passed in this republic, journalists will soon not have to say "yes" to the views and decisions of the top leadership in their community and to the publishers.

'Downturn' in Libyan-Iranian Ties Examined

LD2505222688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2144 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Tripoli, May 25 (TANJUG)—Libyan-Iranian relations have experienced a dramatic downturn over the past few days since Libya, until now one of the only two Iranian allies in the Arab world—the other is Syria—decided to quit propaganda manoeuvring and "open fire" directly at Tehran over its political positions, "incompatible with the declared essence of the Iranian revolution."

The latest edition of the official Libyan newspaper AL-MUNTIJUN frontpages an unprecedented censure of Tehran's policy, prompted by a recent statement by the Iranian deputy foreign minister who said that Tehran "has nothing against the entry of Syrian troops into the southern suburbs of Beirut if this should lead to an end of hostilities between the quarrelling Shi'ite factions."

The author of the article, obviously someone in the highest Libyan leadership, asks: "Who has authorized Iran to oppose or approve of something happening in a land which is not Iranian."

He goes on to inquire whether Iran "knocked on any Arab door to ask permission (?interfere) in the internal affairs of Arab Lebanon."

Noting that the only "justification" for Iran's interference is the malignant idea of setting up a Shi'ite state in Lebanon, the writer asks whether Iran is even today the shah's country which has put on a mask of revolution."

The censure of Iran rests on the thesis that "poking one's nose" in Lebanon amounts to a classical case of interference by "foreigners," the consequences of which will be detrimental and lead to Iran losing its present allies.

Libya calls on Tehran to urgently review its stands and on the Iranian ayatollahs to "offer clear proof that they have no expansionist intentions towards Arab Lebanon," in order to "make it possible to preserve the thin thread of the extant alliance."

In the past few months Iran has been repeatedly criticized by top Libyan officials for being one of those responsible for continuation of the senseless Gulf war.

Nevertheless, Libyan leader Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi has been careful to prevent Libya's criticism of Iran from taking on the overtones of a confrontation between the two countries. Now, however, relations between Tripoli and Tehran will very likely be exposed to major trials in the near future.

Prime Minister Mikulic Pays Visit to Japan

For Japanese media coverage of the 4-day visit of Prime Minister Branko Mikulic to Japan, including meetings with Emperor Hirohito and Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, see the Japan section of the 26 May East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Mikulic Speech at Dinner for Poland's Messner

AU2505145588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 88 p 6

[Speech by Branko Mikulic, FEC President, at a dinner given in honor of Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, in Belgrade on 19 May]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Messner and Mrs Messner!

Dear friends!

I would like to warmly welcome you, your wife, and your colleagues once again, and wish you a pleasant stay in Yugoslavia. The visit and the talks that we began today are a real pleasure for us, because they provide an opportunity to affirm our deep feelings for the friendly country of Poland. The exchange of views on paths for the further development of our mutual relations and cooperation enables us to provide them with new substance and stimuli.

I am convinced that this fact will become very apparent during your stay in Yugoslavia. This must be the case in relations between countries that are friends, as Poland and Yugoslavia are. This has always been so, in view of the similarities between the histories of our peoples and their common ideals: independence, progress, and world peace. It is enough to recall the common struggle, the number of victims, the inexpressible suffering of the peoples of our countries and their courage and attitude during World War II to understand why they are stubbornly striving to achieve peace and cooperation based on the principle of equal status.

I believe that I will be sharing your point of view, esteemed Comrade Messner, if I say that our relations draw their inspiration from precisely such lofty goals that find expression in the concrete substance of broad, mutually advantageous cooperation in all fields. Thanks to our common efforts and the expansion of cooperation, we have achieved significant results in recent years.

Despite the difficulties that both our countries are experiencing, we have achieved enviable progress in the expansion of cooperation. However, at the present time we ought to examine the causes of tendencies that hamper progress and make use of all the possibilities that exist for further development. Undoubtedly, we will only be able to achieve these goals thanks to the bolder and broader introduction of higher forms of cooperation in production, through the strengthening of cooperation and specialization on foundations going back many years, through the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology, and by linkage of economic organizations in both our countries on precisely such bases.

We can say with satisfaction that cooperation is developing well between our parliaments, sociopolitical organizations—between the LCY and the PZPR first and foremost—the SAWP and PRON, young people, women's organizations, and between our socialist republics, districts, and towns, and Polish voivodships and towns. Cooperation in the fields of culture, learning, and education is very extensive.

We were able to achieve this diversity and richness in the substance of our relations because we consistently observed the principles of independence, equal status, noninterference, and respect for differences in internal development and in the development of the international position of both countries. It is our wish to improve these foundations in the future and to expand our mutual relations, which is something that lies in the interest of our countries but also strengthens equal cooperation, security, and peace in Europe and the world.

Dear friends, during your stay in Yugoslavia we will seek to at least partially acquaint you with our achievements in the development of our socialist community. Our achievements to date provide a secure and sound foundation for further progress in the enhancement of socialist democracy, in steering our system of self-management and making it operate more effectively, and in strengthening the people's role in direct decisionmaking on important matters relating to life and work.

We now find ourselves in a period of important changes in the economic and political life of our country. We are firmly convinced that we will succeed in implementing these changes and that we will emerge from our present difficulties stronger and able to meet the demands of the current stage in our socialist development and present-day challenges.

Guided by the fundamental principle that every people and every country has a right to reach sovereign decisions about the course of its internal development and its activities in the international arena and that the exchange of experiences is useful, we are following Poland's socioeconomic development with exceptional attention and understanding, and every success that you achieve pleases us. We hope that you will overcome your difficulties and emerge victorious from every test so that you can fully achieve your goals along the path of national accord.

Esteemed Comrade Messner, socialist, nonaligned Yugoslavia is actively developing cooperation with countries all over the world on the basis of principles that are well known. This is the same policy that we pursued for decades when Tito was our leader. We continue to consistently pursue this policy within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement. This is an independent and global element, unaffiliated to any bloc, in international relations, at the United Nations Organization, in Europe, and wherever it can contribute to solving contemporary world problems, such as those related to the struggle for peace, disarmament, fairer and more equal relations, the elimination of hotbeds of crisis, and the use of peaceful means to overcome dangerous divisions and conflicts.

This was and remains the nature of our activity in the international arena. That is why we welcome positive trends toward the reaffirmation of the policy of dialogue and disarmament negotiations, which has assumed concrete form in the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe. This has strengthened hopes of a lasting peace without the fear that the weapons that have been accumulated will be

used and the belief that it is possible to prevent the arms race and initiate an irreversible disarmament process with respect to all categories of weapons. At the same time, like other nonaligned countries, we consider it necessary for the renewed detente process to include all countries, both large and small, because this is the only guarantee that a lasting peace can be preserved.

It is a matter of particular concern to us that the positive trend in international relations still has not covered complicated international problems concerning economic relations and matters relating to the increasingly grave situation in which developing countries are finding themselves. The lack of a constructive dialogue between North and South is becoming more serious, and the enormous gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, which are increasingly burdened by debt, is widening. The only possible solution to the debt problem is the creation of conditions for the more rapid development of developing countries so that they are able to repay their debts. It is obvious that the debt problem has a global character, and it is something for which both creditors and debtors bear a joint responsibility.

We attach particular importance to the Vienna CSCE session, at which, along with the neutral and nonaligned countries, we are making efforts to strengthen the climate of confidence and to create a uniform and lasting system for cooperation and security in Europe in line with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. Past experiences oblige us to bring about—without hesitation and prejudices—military and political detente on our continent, so that it becomes a factor of stability and progress in the world. This was the aim of the Brioni meeting of nonaligned Mediterranean countries and the recent conference of Balkan foreign ministers in Belgrade. I think that these conferences represent significant progress in this direction. We support every constructive proposal and effort that can contribute to the enhancement of cooperation and confidence in Europe, and so we welcome Comrade Jaruzelski's initiative in the belief that the PPR also has a moral right to occupy an appropriate place in this process and is capable of doing so.

I am convinced that this meeting and the exchange of views that will take place during it will contribute to the further expansion of mutual relations as well as to the realization of the lofty goals of peace and to a greater understanding of the principles of cooperation on an equal basis, which is something that both our countries, linked by ties of friendship, are striving for.

Messner Speech to Mikulic at Dinner

AU2405140488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 88 p 6

[Speech by Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, at a dinner given in his honor by FEC President Branko Mikulic in Belgrade on 19 May]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Mikulic and Mrs Mikulic!

Dear Yugoslav friends!

Esteemed Comrades!

I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks once again for the warm and sincere words addressed to Poland and the Poles during our talks.

These talks at the level of head of government confirm that comprehensive Polish-Yugoslav relations are developing successfully. At the same time, they provide an opportunity to define the directions in which they will be further enhanced and enriched with new, more effective forms of cooperation. An atmosphere of sincerity and mutual understanding has been a traditional feature of our relations.

Our relations extend over many centuries. Their history in the field of culture and scholarship was initiated by Ivan Gundulic and Adam Mickiewicz. An entry in the pages of this history was also made by Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, who was a member of the Society of Scholars of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

Poles who found themselves in Yugoslavia during World War II played an active part in the national liberation struggle directed against the fascist invader. We know that the heroic deeds of Tomo Sadowski, who fought in Slovenia alongside his Yugoslav comrades-in-arms, are remembered and held in high esteem.

The era of socialism has given our relations a new, deeper character. Relations between our peoples and states have developed over the last 30 years in the spirit of the joint Polish-Yugoslav declaration that was signed in 1957 by Wladyslaw Gomulka and Josip Broz Tito.

In recent years the decisions made during meetings between our leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, and leading figures in the political and economic life of your federation have created favorable conditions and important stimuli for the strengthening and expansion of direct ties between our two societies and economies.

We in Poland recognize and respect the achievements of the Yugoslav peoples. We view with interest your achievements in shaping and improving the system of socialist self-management.

Esteemed comrades, by virtue of their historical experience, Poland and Yugoslavia are particularly interested in strengthening international peace, security, and cooperation based on the principles of equality between all states and peoples.

Your state's involvement and role in the international arena and its position in the Nonaligned Movement, which plays an important role in shaping international relations, have our respect.

A significant example of the productive initiatives launched by Yugoslavia was the February meeting of Balkan foreign ministers held in Belgrade. It was important for the whole of Europe and not just the region.

Poland is actively involved in implementing the peace-oriented foreign policy being pursued by the socialist community. We believe that a matter of particular importance at the present time is the consolidation of the positive changes that are taking shape in the international situation by way of preserving the continuity and irreversibility of the process of disarmament and the attainment of concrete agreements concerning all aspects of disarmament.

We fully share the hopes of the international community that the upcoming Soviet-American summit meeting will mark the next, genuine step toward limiting and then eliminating the nuclear arsenals that threaten the whole of mankind.

We are actively involved in strengthening security on our continent, which was so painfully affected by the tragic experiences and horrors of war. The latest example of this is the Jaruzelski Plan, which aims at reducing weapons and increasing confidence in central Europe. We note with satisfaction that increasingly broader circles of the international community are expressing an interest in the plan and giving it their support.

Because of our experiences and our awareness of the value of a sovereign national existence, we carefully note and are concerned about attempts to question the post-war order in Europe and political and territorial realities.

In our view, any attempts to revise and undermine the international legal foundations of the European order are damaging to detente, security, and cooperation and are incompatible with multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements, and with the letter and spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Esteemed comrades, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation occupy a particularly important place in bilateral Polish-Yugoslav relations. It is precisely this form of cooperation that creates a material basis for the fruitful development of relations.

It will shortly be 3 years since the signing in Belgrade of the protocol on the directions of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between our states for the current 5-year period.

However, although the provisions of the protocol are being successfully implemented, there is an awareness that possibilities for cooperation are not being fully exploited, increased trade being just one example.

We are interested in the further enhancement of our economic relations. We see there being possibilities not only for broadening existing ties in the area of production specialization and cooperation, but also for enhancing them by the addition of higher forms, such as: joint production ventures that would assist structural changes in our economies; direct scientific and technical cooperation that would produce results that can be readily applied; joint entry into third markets.

Fields such as culture, learning, information, sport, and tourism have traditionally occupied an important place in Polish-Yugoslav relations.

We note with satisfaction the expansion of contacts between twin towns and regions. They facilitate the process of becoming familiar with the histories and contemporary achievements of both states and help our societies to get to know each other better and bring them closer together.

Esteemed comrades, an improvement in international economic and financial relations is increasingly necessary if the development of today's world is to proceed smoothly.

A policy of restrictions and the creation of obstacles to economic cooperation is an element that disrupts the normal development of many peoples and states and produces tension in international relations.

The debt crisis, which is ruining the economies of many states and those of developing countries in particular, has become a worldwide problem. A basic condition for solving this problem is the creation of rational relations between creditors and debtors, which are based on the principle of equal status. This is something that many states hit by the effects of this crisis have been calling for.

Dear friends, in Poland we are consistently implementing the program of socialist renewal and national accord, which was set out at the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses.

The democratization of all areas of life in our country has assumed a new social and institutional dimension.

The upcoming elections to people's councils and regional self-management bodies marks the next step along this path. These elections will take place in accordance with the provisions of the new electoral code, whose character was determined by a nationwide discussion that involved all groups in society.

Our formula for national accord does not create any obstacles to participation in a general dialogue on the subject of the present and the future of our state. Anyone who recognizes the PPR's constitutional principles can take part in this dialogue regardless of the political views that he may hold or the ideology to which he may subscribe.

An important component of socialist renewal, as well as one of the conditions for its success, is the implementation of far-reaching economic reform in Poland. The essence of the reform is the abandonment of the centralized command economy in favor of an economy that is based on principles of independence, self-management, self-financing, freedom to undertake economic activity, and the equal treatment of all economic units, irrespective of their form of ownership. And, at the same time, we are striving to open our economy up more to the world economy and to establish links with it.

These changes have more than a purely formal character. They signify revolutionary transformations that entail the need to effect a fundamental restructuring of psychosocial attitudes.

We are encountering obstacles along this path. These obstacles are both of an objective nature, stemming from internal and external factors determining development, and a subjective nature, the main source of which lies in people's perceptions.

However, we do not intend to abandon this course.

We are making extensive practical use of the experiences and achievements of other socialist states. Many of the solutions that we have adopted coincide with the strategy of restructuring that was initiated by the CPSU and its general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev.

We are also interested in and taking careful notice of the specific experiences of the SFRY in its search for and development of the best economic and sociopolitical conditions from the point of view of its national needs and interests.

We consider the exchange of experiences on this subject between our parties and governments to be highly productive.

It is our conviction that thanks to the common effort being made by many socialist states along the path of sociopolitical and economic reforms, socialism has gained new values and features, and its credibility and ability to shape the present and the future of the world has been strengthened.

Dear Comrade Mikulic, esteemed friends, I believe that our bilateral relations are a powerful example of cooperation, of cooperation that suits the interests of the Polish and Yugoslav peoples. We particularly value the concrete character of our talks with our Yugoslav comrades, which not only expresses mutual understanding of our common interests but also reflects the special character of our contacts and our desire to enhance Polish-Yugoslav cooperation.